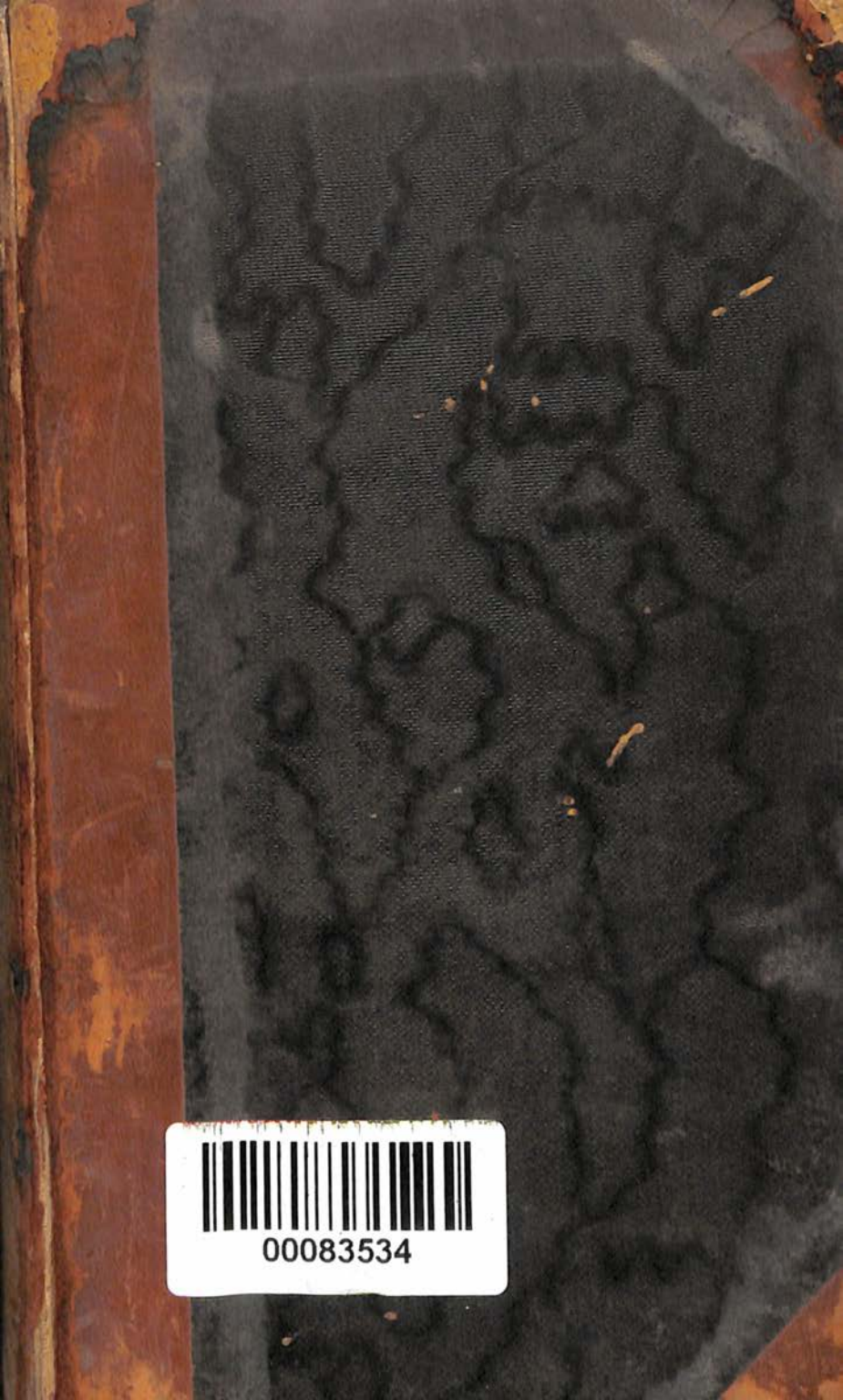
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SEQUEL

TO A

NARRATIVE

OF A

FORCED JOURNEY

THROUGH

Spain and France,

AS A

PRISONER OF WAR, IN 1810 TO 1813:

INCLUDING

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

PRESENT STATE OF IRELAND,

&c. &c. &c.

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BY MAJOR-GENERAL LORD BLAYNEY.

VOL. III.

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PREFACE.

AFTER having travelled much in foreign countries, and observed their peculiar moral and political features, it was natural for their author on his return to his native soil, to continue the same line of observation, and to make those obvious comparisons which could not fail to arrest the attention of a real well-wisher of his country. The principal object of this volume of continuation of the author's travels, is therefore to describe the *present State of Ireland*, a country which though possessing natural advantages, equalled by few, and surpassed by none, is still deplorably behind-hand in civilization and improvement; and though the facts stated, may, if isolated, be thought of minor importance, their aggregate, the author dares to think, will lay open a mass of national imperfection, that calls aloud for the most serious attention of the present patriotic and enlightened government, which possesses the chief power of remedying the evils, that a long series of illiberal jealousies and weak fears have generated and perpetuated in IRELAND.

We cannot, indeed, but be surprised, that while *universal* philanthropy has become almost *a passion* of the English nation, and the mild spirit of toleration has diffused itself through all classes; that

while such unceasing and honourable exertions have been made both by government and individuals, to secure to the African the blessings of liberty and civilization, so little should have been hitherto attempted to raise so great and interesting a portion of our fellow subjects as Ireland contains, from the state of moral and political degradation to which they have been so long consigned.

But though the government alone possesses the power of efficiently bettering the political State of Ireland, its moral improvement to any extent depends on the cordial co-operation of the persons of influence in that country ; in short, unless the landed proprietors can bring themselves to identify their own good-will with that of their tenantry, and exert themselves *personally,* in the encouragement of industry, little melioration is to be hoped for, in the moral habits of the lower class.

The favourable reception with which the prior volumes of the author's observations have been honoured by a liberal public, emboldens him to hope for its approbation of the present; which, whatever may be its other defects, speaks the sentiments of a mind deeply interested in the welfare of Ireland, with whose happiness and prosperity the British empire at large is inseparably connected.

CONTENTS OF VOL. III.

CHAPTER I.

Page

Effects of Prepossession—British Constitution—Captain and his Lady—Calais—Difference of Costume—Duchess d'Angoulême's Bonnet—Dover—Bullion..... 1

CHAPTER II.

Arrive at Canterbury—Adaptation of Buildings to Climates—Rochester—Rapid Change of Scene—London, Amusements there 18

CHAPTER III.

Set out for Ireland—That Country unjustly run down—the Lord Lieutenant and great Officers of State characterised—Condition of the Country—Public Education 32

CHAPTER IV.

Fourteenth Report of the Commissioners of Education—Letters of Messrs. Grattan, Edgeworth, and Foster—Late Mr. Whitbread—Mr. Monck Mason on Education 103

CHAPTER V.

Page

Lands at Dublin—Bulls—Remarks on the Condition of the Poor—Distress of Soldiers' Families left on Shore—Remedy pointed out—Bad Provision for the Poor of Ireland 119

CHAPTER VI.

Irish Poor in England—Forced Breach of the Law—Appeal to the Legislature 130

CHAPTER VII.

Suggestion for the Improvement of the English Poor-Laws—Arts of Peace—Questions prescribed by Act of Parliament 144

CHAPTER VIII.

Parliamentary Grants for various Irish Services in 1815—Remarks 158

CHAPTER IX.

Pulpit Orators in Ireland—London and Dublin badly Lighted—Placards—Attachment to Buonaparte—Folly and Malignity of the Disaffected—Postboys—Roads.. 181

CHAPTER X.

Impediments to the Improvement of Ireland—Absentees 192

CHAPTER XI.

Subject continued—Reports of Disturbances exaggerated, and by whom—Judge Day's Opinion on the Proportion of Crimes in Dublin, compared with London—Conduct of Absentees a main Cause of Disturbances—Improvement of Police suggested 208

CHAPTER XII.

Page

Wretched Appearance of the Working Class in Ireland —Cause of it—Proneness of the Irish to Litigation—Observations on Criminal Trial—Parliamentary Report concerning the Gaols in Ireland 216

CHAPTER XIII.

Frequency of Oaths deprecated 228

CHAPTER XIV.

The Public Roads of Ireland 234

CHAPTER XV.

Miscellaneous Remarks concerning Ireland 265

CHAPTER XVI.

The Roman Catholics 279

APPENDIX.

No. I.

The Fourteenth Report of the Commissioners for inquiring into the State of all Schools on Public or Charitable Foundations in Ireland 321

Letter from the Right Honourable Henry Grattan, to the Secretary of the Board of Education 340

Letter from Richard Lovel Edgeworth, Esq. to his Grace the Lord Primate 342

Letter from John Leslie Foster, Esq. to the Secretary of the Board of Education 359

No. II.

Page

Mr. Beckwith's Plan relative to Charitable Donations, &c. &c. 379

No. III.

Evidence of Rev. Foster Archer, Inspector General of Prisons, and Isaac De Joncourt, Local Inspector of the Prisons of the County of the City of Dublin, as inserted in the Appendix to the Report from the Commissioners appointed to enquire into and inspect the Condition and Government of the State Prisons and other Gaols in Ireland 395

No. IV.

First Report of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the Nature and Extent of the several Bogs in Ireland; and the practicability of draining and cultivating them 410

NARRATIVE,

&c. &c. &c.

CHAPTER I.

Effects of Prepossession....British Constitution.... Captain and his Lady....Calais....Difference of Costume....Duchess d'Angoulême's Bonnet.... Dover....Bullion.

1814.

My military duties had for a long period of my life occasioned my being much abroad on foreign service. We are apt to imbibe the most favourable sentiments of our native land, from reading books which extol the British constitution and government to the highest degree; at the same time, the enthusiastic manner in which we hear many deliver their sentiments in its praise, contributes to raise our ideas of

its value. These ideas, however, are subject to change in proportion to our intercourse with life. This remark may be illustrated by the following brief story.

I remember, at Verdun, a worthy Captain in the Navy who had passed the greater part of his life in several sea-port towns in England, where he had not the opportunity of seeing a variety of faces. He there formed an attachment, and entered the married state; but he was soon after made prisoner, in which situation he remained disconsolate for some time, and at length formed a resolution of sending for his beloved wife. On her arrival, his first salutation was, "my dear, how wonderfully you are altered since I saw you last!" The fact is, that the lady was nearly the same, but it was the captain's own idea of her which had altered imperceptibly by an intercourse with the world, and seeing so

many

many females by far superior to his former object of adoration, having previously seen none that could compare with her. In a few days after I dined with the captain and his lady. The never-failing sauce, and the only one generally to be met with at a true-born Englishman's table, namely, melted butter, was produced; when lo! the object of his former adoration had the misfortune to upset the butter-boat. The captain exclaimed in a petulant tone, "my dear, "you have a head and so has a turnip;" to which she replied, "indeed, my dear, "you do not appear to me in the least impro- "ved by French manners," and thus ended the connubial dialogue for that time. I dare say they enjoyed much felicity afterwards; although it is possible the captain (from having seen so much more of life than he had at their first acquaintance)

might be now and then surprized into the occasional admiration of new faces.

Thus, possibly, my ideas relative to England have been in some measure changed from having seen other countries. The people of England are, however, most fortunate in their situation; they are blessed with a temperate climate, and are an industrious and enterprizing people; while their country possesses vast advantages from its insular situation which prevents its being the seat of war, and is so circumstanced with regard to the facilities of trade, that it wields the sceptre of commerce; for as a town would be selected for a capital from its being in the centre of any country, England is happily placed so as to command the trade of the world; and the good people who inhabit it ought to kneel down and return daily thanks to their divine

divine benefactor for his kindness and for his bounty.

When I arrived at Calais, I found many English families in that town. The costume of the ladies and of the ladies' maids certainly did not strike me in a favourable point of view, possibly it might have been on account of my being so completely familiarized to the French head-dress and fashion. The small bonnet* and English

 mode

On the return of the Duchess d'Angoulême to France, after the *first* abdication of Buonaparte, a number of ladies went out to receive her in form, on her entrance into one of the towns, through which she passed, on her way to Paris. They intended to shew her every mark of respect and honour. But not all her sufferings, her imprisonment in the Temple during her early years, the public execution of her royal parents, the immature death of her brother (that unfortunate youth Louis XVII!) and her long exile,--not the recollection of all these melancholy events and transactions, could make them indifferent to

mode of dressing, I have heard strongly censured both by French and English at Paris, as tending to diminish their stature and to remove that impression of dignity which we are apt to feel relative to English ladies. I bore in mind, continually, figures and deportment such as those of the Duchess of Rutland, the Marchioness of Hertford, with a few others, and one I must not omit, either as to figure, or that which is superior to any figure, the Hon. Mrs. Latouche of Ireland, whose form is commanding and dignified, and her countenance benign and amiable; while her acts of

to one, apparently trifling circumstance—*she was dressed in the English style!*—An universal titter overcame all better feelings, and a contemptuous whisper went round—*ah! quel petit bonnet!*—After all, does this mark the sway of fashion? Or is it a flagrant instance of French frivolity?

of charity and benevolence have diffused comfort and cheerfulness around the circle of her extensive influence;—in a word, she does credit to her country. These were the models of British ladies I had formed in my mind; how far I may be mistaken or otherwise, my readers are possibly more able than myself to determine. There are in Scotland several women of good figures, who retain the frankness of the old school.

Those families which I met with at Calais had fine carriages and fine servants, both of which created no small embarrassment; for the carriages caused a most unreasonable Custom-House charge to be demanded, and the servants estimated themselves at a rate far exceeding their intrinsic merit, under the impression that their masters or mistresses could not dispense with their service; while the abigails or ladies' maids did as little as possible, and could not dis-

pense with their darling beverage of tea, which in France it is difficult to procure, being in most places used entirely as a medecine, and only to be found in apothecaries' shops; while both valets de chambre and soubrettes, coachmen, footmen, and the rest of the happy establishment, never agreed on any subject but one, namely the abuse of the French, calling them "*these here French people,*" and always contributing to their masters and mistresses' embarrassment by giving them to understand that had they known so much as they then did, they would not for any consideration have left Old England.

On preparing to embark for Dover, I was at the mercy of the person who possessed a ship, or means of transport to England. One to whom I had spoken demanded nine guineas *per* horse, for three horses,—well knowing I was anxious to take

take them with me, and that they could not swim across the Channel,—which sum I should have been obliged to pay, had I not accidentally met a gentleman who was precisely in a similar situation.* By judicious arrangement we contrived to hire the vessel altogether for ourselves, our carriages, and our horses, on much more reasonable terms. The master of the vessel had stipulated that the ship was to be exclusively at our disposal—a stipulation or covenant which was rendered in a manner abortive, for he artfully contrived to introduce the person or persons he wished to embark with me, at a moment most unexpected, hoping I would have no objection to Mr. ....., &c. in such civil language, that I could not in reason refuse his

* It is to be presumed that all these matters have since been properly regulated.

his request; and thus the packet was soon filled, to my serious inconvenience, and to the no small emolument of the proprietor.

On approaching the English coast, that enthusiastic regard and sincere love which I always entertained for the country, heightened and increased by the contrasted difficulties I had encountered and privations I had suffered while a prisoner, and the pleasing consolation that I was then my own master and once more free, forced themselves upon my mind, and caused me inwardly to repeat the passage in Goldsmith's *Traveller* relative to England:—

"Stern o'er each bosom Reason holds her seat,
With daring arms irregularly great;
Pride in their port, defiance in their eye,
I see the Lords of Human Kind pass by,
Intent on huge designs, a thoughtful band,
By forms unfashioned, fresh from Nature's hand;
Fierce in their native hardiness of soul,
True to imagin'd Right, above control,

While

While e'en the Peasant boasts these rights to scan,
And learns to venerate himself as Man.
Thine, Freedom, thine the blessings pictured here,
Thine are those charms that dazzle and endear."

Such I conceive to have been the character of this people in or about the year 1758, when Goldsmith wrote; and such I am convinced it was by the language used in the parliamentary debates at that period, during the brilliant administration of the revered Mr. Pitt, the late Lord Chatham.

The affairs of government were then in a state of despondency,—" the secretary stood alone,"—when on a sudden the hopes of the country were revived, under the auspices of his transcendent talents. The capture of Cape Breton and Fort du Quesne followed, and all the glories of the campaigns of 1758; at the same time his animated eloquence roused the character

and

and elevated the credit of the English nation.

How altered must have been my opinion, and how sensibly must I have felt my disappointment, when, instead of the grand notions I had formed, I found myself surrounded by what they usually term Dover Sharks !

I was dressed in a long capot or frock of bottled green, made at Paris, and in the Parisian fashion, of excellent materials, the cloth and lining being of superior quality; the collar stood high, much more so than those made after the English fashion; my hat was much higher in the crown and broader in the brim, than the little round bowls of hats I had seen; and because I was not aware of the effect of all this, I was accused by many of being a Smuggler. In this instance, thought I to myself, " how little know'st thou of Calista !" for I would rather

rather pay twenty duties than be at the trouble of smuggling any thing. In the opinion of others I was deemed a Russian; but the observations of many were, "he "must be a damned Frenchman!"

These occurrences I must confess shook my confidence, high as it was, in the liberality of the British nation, and caused me again to ponder on the line,

"Stern o'er each bosom Reason holds her seat."

For why did they give vent to these expressions, and what right had they to form these conclusions, because I was a prisoner, and had not the means of making myself acquainted with their fashions, which fluctuate and vary so continually from one extreme to the other, establishing the tyranny of fashion in the midst of a free country, and impairing the very liberty of which they boast?

The

The baggage was divided into as many small parcels as possible, in order to give employment to many persons to carry it to the inn, each of which redundant hands required a far more than adequate compensation for his trouble, and none of the officious multitude seemed to be satisfied, from an extreme rapacity to acquire still more.

I had about sixty-two guineas in gold and some Napoleons;—a little humped-backed Jew soon discovered I had this money, by what means I cannot ascertain, for I scarcely knew it myself, and my servant knew nothing of it whatever. Moses gave me twenty-six shillings, or a one pound Bank of England note and six shillings for each guinea in gold. I have seen many publications on the depreciation of paper currency, but none could to me be so convincing as this mode of reasoning; for it must

must be evident, that if a person can get twenty-six shillings for a guinea in gold, and only twenty shillings for a Bank note, there is a positive loss of six shillings, for in fact I can procure no more for my one pound note than I could for fifteen shillings in bullion, therefore it is clear I lose one-fourth. They told me by way of consolation that the Jew had a good thing of it, and that I was imposed upon in selling them so cheap.

This is the usual way of reasoning.—In urging it, I by no means wish to insinuate that the credit of the Bank of England stands on insecure grounds. The same result will inevitably follow from a rise in the price of bullion. Whenever that mounts so high as to exceed the nominal value of the current coin, the latter must be in danger of visiting the crucible, and will fetch a price in proportion to its weight.

The

The value of bullion is now lower than it was, and no inhabitant of Duke's Place will make so improvident a bargain as to give twenty-six shillings for a guinea. I am aware of Lord King's view of the question, as well as of the remedy provided by the legislature; but even when things were at the worst they never were so bad as his lordship supposed. If Lord King had gone into any of his tradesmen's shops, and cheapened any commodities, the man behind the counter would never have dreamt of first enquiring whether his lordship meant to pay in Bank notes or cash, before he named his price. There was not a different price for a payment in coin, and a payment in paper. The latter was sufficient, and a liberal credit would have been given, if required, to boot. When his lordship could deal on such terms with his tradesmen, he need not have been so severe with his

his tenants: the same circulating medium might have sufficed both for his receipts and expenditure. This is a question, however, which I have neither time nor room to discuss here. All currency, whether notes or cash, has, for convenience, a nominal value. It would be impracticable, and therefore absurd, to make payments with a pair of gold scales in one hand, and a pair of sheers in the other. We must be content to let cash pass, by common consent, at a nominal value; and if in the fluctuation of sublunary affairs, there should occasionally be a variation between the nominal and the intrinsic value of coin, we must take it as a necessary and irremediable evil, of which base men will take the advantage; and, without remorse, whatever harm happens to the country, will collect guineas for the melting-pot, and convert guineas into ingots.

CHAPTER II.

Arrive at Canterbury....Adaptation of Buildings to Climates...Rochester....Rapid Change of Scene ....London, Amusements there.

I PROCEEDED to Canterbury, in the neighbourhood of which city I had been formerly for some time quartered, and went to the sign of the King's-Head. Mr. Friday, the landlord of the inn, had set it up when I was last there. The house was very comfortable and clean; but though it was in the month of July and the weather intolerably hot, the rooms were all furnished with carpets, in a manner suited to Christmas. Indeed the rooms throughout England are in general low and small, seemingly calculated to guard against cold weather only.

only. The additional heat conveyed by means of a carpet to the feet, and the want of a free circulation of air were to me unpleasant, having been accustomed to lofty rooms, waxed floors, and complete ventilation.

The glazed sash-windows, in England, and the care that is taken to close every cranny against the wintry blast, not forgetting our blazing sea-coal fires and carpets, contribute to make our houses the most comfortable in the world, during the inclement season of the year; at which period the heated air of a German stove is noxious to breathe and oppressive to endure, whilst the chilliness of the apartments in Spain and Italy during winter is the reverse of *comfort*—that word peculiar to England!

The elevation of Madrid above the level of the sea, renders cold weather almost

insupportable in that city. It is peculiarly prejudicial to the human constitution when the wind is northerly. The air is then piercingly cold, and a very short exposure to it is oftentimes fatal, particularly to strangers, who do not at once perceive the necessity for wearing the wide wrapping cloke peculiar to the country, called *Capa*. When that wind blows at Madrid, "the "Mayor of Burgos," it is said, "looks "out at his window." Equally severe is the *Tramontana* which blows from the same quarter (the north) over the Alps into Italy. The ancients had their summer and winter apartments, fronting the south, reciprocally, and the north. With all their refinements, the moderns have yet to learn lessons of health from their forefathers. At least "mine host" of the King's-Head at Canterbury might edify by them.

From Dover I pursued my journey to Rochester.

Rochester. I had formerly been quartered at Ospringe, Feversham, Ramsgate and Margate, and contrived to make the Bull Inn, at Rochester, generally, my halting place, in passing frequently to and from London.

There are few things that surprize a person more, after a long absence abroad, than to find a man whom he left precisely on the same spot, still occupied in the same manner as if he had been so employed during the whole of the period. I left Mr. Paternoster the landlord in order to embark on an expedition under Lord Cathcart for Germany, in 1805. We returned to Ramsgate after experiencing severe losses by shipwreck, and suffering many privations while on service in Germany. In the same year we again sailed from thence to Portsmouth, from whence we proceeded to South America, on an expedition under the command of General

Whitelock ; and from having unfortunately crossed the Line in an unfavourable longitude, encountered extreme difficulties, being detained nearly seven weeks under the Line. At the close of this expedition we sailed from South America for the Cape of Good Hope, and on the voyage met with severe gales, the ship being in a sinking state and short of provisions and water. The Monarch, the ship in which I was embarked, and another vessel, parted company, as did also the Staunch gun-brig. We put into Saldanha Bay, on the coast of Africa, from whence, having landed the detachment of the 87th and 89th Regiments, we marched for Cape Town. On the march several persons perished for want of water, and we suffered dreadfully from the heat of the weather and the depth of the sand. After remaining for some time at the Cape, I went to St. Helena,

Helena, and from thence to Rio Janeiro, where I joined Sir Sidney Smith. Having embarked on board the London, ninety-eight guns, Captain Western, my time was employed in preparing the marines, and some sailors of the fleet, to act with about four thousand Portuguese for the capture of Monte Video, and putting the Portuguese in possession of their ancient possessions on the northern bank of the river Plata, which plan was suggested to government by Sir Sidney Smith; and happy would it have been for the sake of humanity, and the commerce of Great Britain, if that gallant officer's advice had been then followed. Having embarked and sailed for England in the Alban cutter, in a few days after my departure, a singular circumstance occurred. A sailor went to Sir Sidney Smith and was examined by Lord Palmerston, Sir James Gambier, and

others; in the most circumstantial and precise manner, as to the information which he gave of that vessel's being wrecked; from whence he, as he stated, and his comrade had made their escape, and were the only survivors. Their stories (although they were examined separately) perfectly corresponded; they described my dress and person accurately, and swore they saw me killed by the mast falling overboard. A deputation was sent (in consequence) to the spot described, where were found several pieces of wreck, and part of a hen-coop, with two or three useless spars, that were thrown overboard to disencumber the vessel, branded with the word "*Alban;*" there were also picked up some covers of letters with the same word on them; all of which being carried by the wind and current, both setting in the same direction, accidentally arrived at this spot, and left

not

not a doubt as to the truth of their information. The result was that intelligence of these particulars was forwarded to the Cape, where my friends went into mourning for me.

We met with very severe weather in this cutter, and our passage to Falmouth exseeded four months, without touching at any seaport. Being unable to make the Western Isles as we expected, and our stock being washed overboard, from having experienced many heavy gales, we were for upwards of three weeks reduced to a pint of water and a biscuit each per day, which privation (however disagreeable it might then have appeared) had the effect of giving me a greater relish for the good things on shore afterwards. I had not long been in England when I received an order to embark again for the Cape, and to take with me thither four regiments. The destination

nation of these regiments, however, was suddenly changed; a detachment went to Cadiz. I sailed for Gibraltar, and was afterwards for some time at the siege of Cadiz. From thence I marched to the mountains and was employed among the Guerillas, and after experiencing the circumstances set forth in this narration, I found Mr. Paternoster (on my return) walking, or rather hobbling, up and down the passage of his house, precisely in the same spot where I had left him during an eventful period exceeding eight years.

"What," said I, "my old boy, have "you been walking here ever since I "went abroad?" "Upon my credit," said he, "since I have seen you I have not "been so far as the bridge," which was not above a hundred yards distant. I found his ideas much exalted, for in consequence of the royal visitors from Russia,

Germany

Germany and Prussia, Emperors, Kings and Princes were become quite familiar to him; nor would he hardly condescend to acknowledge any thing inferior in rank. On my asking him "what was to be had for dinner?" "Beef-steaks, —mutton-chops," he replied; the usual and never failing answer in an English inn.

I found the mutton greatly inferior to what I had been accustomed to, owing to what they call the *new light;* and the wines were execrable and immoderately dear. I payed seven shillings and six-pence a bottle for infamous port, and twelve shillings and six-pence for claret; while in France I could have had equally good claret as Mr. Paternoster's for four sols, or two-pence.

Montesquieu observes in his Spirit of Laws, "that in a state in which, on the "one hand, opulence was extreme, and on "the

" the other the taxes excessive, its inhabi-
" tants would be hardly able to live on
" small fortunes, unassisted by industry.
" Many under a pretence of travelling, or
" on the score of curiosity or health,
" would retire from among them and go
" in search of plenty."—Such is precisely the situation of England. The immense fortunes accumulated in the East Indies, and other places, added to those of merchants and others, have created an ostentatious disregard for money, and raised the price of all articles of life so far above their value, as to render many comforts unattainable by persons of moderate income; nor have those who become suddenly rich, generally speaking, any discrimination —you may see them devour turtle by quarts, and drink wine, which were a person of the least refinement to take into his mouth, would make him writhe and distort his

countenance

countenance in the most unpleasant manner from its acidity and nauseous flavour; yet these people can drink it with the greatest composure, if not delight, provided it costs much money; so destitute are they in general of taste, or so little used to the elegant discriminations of polished society. The ostentation and unthinking generosity of such men do also a great injury to society, for they make waiters, chamber-maids, &c. &c. perfectly inattentive to their duty, by giving them too much money.

I met several persons in London whom I had known at Verdun. Each person had again found his level, and had taken his ancient station in society; whereas at Verdun every one was precisely what he thought it advisable to make himself; and the lower his circumstances the more splendid was generally his dress and appearance, in order to gain credit, from externals at least.

In

In short, many of those whom I met often reminded me of Courçelles the commandant's observation when they boasted of English liberty; "what is your liberty?" he would say; "you drink small beer in "England and champagne in France."*

Many persons have since returned to Verdun, that scene of their captivity which I have heard them so often curse, finding that they could not exist in idleness, or rather without profitable employment, in this land of freedom.

When in London, by way of amusement I wished much to procure some stuffed birds and monkeys with other animals, in order to form a museum, therefore to obtain these curiosities I put the following advertisement in the newspapers.

"To

* For an account of this *worthy* French Colonel I beg to refer the reader to Chap. XXXVI and XXXVII, of my second volume.

" To furniture brokers, collectors of " curiosities, virtuosos, &c. a Dutch mer- " chant wishes to purchase a quantity of " stuffed foreign birds for the purpose of " selling again, and will not give an ex- " travagant price; whoever has any to " dispose of is desired to describe the par- " ticulars with price by letter—post paid, " to M. Van M. at Mr. Kerby's (my " Bookseller), Stafford Street, Old Bond " Street."

The curious letters I received in answer were very entertaining, some written in Dutch, broken English, &c.

If any person wishes for a morning's amusement, he has only to advertise for a wet nurse, and he will find much amusement in the answers he receives.

CHAP. III.

CHAP. III.

Set out for Ireland....That Country unjustly run down....The Lord Lieutenant and great Officers of State, characterised....Condition of the Country ....Public Education.

After passing some time in London among my friends there, and in the neighbourhood, detained also by arranging public accounts, which were finally settled to the satisfaction of government, I set out for Ireland. My establishment, part of which preceded, and the rest accompanied me, consisted of German, French, and English servants, which, although not a numerous retinue, afforded variety. On my arrival at Holyhead, where I met them for embarkation, I found from their own state-

ment

ment that for a certain distance along the road, all possible means had been used to poison their minds against Ireland; as if persons were employed to libel and defame that country, which they seemed to have performed with as much zeal and industry, as if they had been hired to circulate hand-bills for an auction, or the scheme of a lottery. These statements have, notwithstanding, been proved to be false by the testimony of the English Militia, and of those who have experienced the same insidious means exerted to prejudice them. They have borne testimony, how widely different they have found Ireland to these odious representations, and I shall leave it to their candour and liberality to decide the question.

We must, however, give the good folks in the Green Island credit now and then for a

bull; of which I shall beg leave to introduce one instance. When I was in Dublin there was a chimney-sweeper sentenced to be publicly whipped for some misdemeanour. The execution attracted a vast concourse of spectators, many of whom being assembled at the Royal Exchange, the iron railing of that building gave way in consequence of the pressure, when sixteen persons were killed and a considerable number were wounded. The usual humanity and generosity for which the citizens of Dublin have ever been conspicuous, induced them to subscribe to the relief of the sufferers and their families, when a handsome sum was collected. The following curious advertisement appeared in the Newspaper:

"The Committee requests the *sufferers* "and their relations who were *killed* or "wounded at the Royal Exchange to send

"in

" in a state of their injuries and of their " respective families, properly authenti- " cated, &c. &c. &c."

Montesquieu remarks that a trading nation has a prodigious number of little particular interests; it may injure, or be injured, in an infinite number of ways; thus it may become immoderately jealous and will probably be as much afflicted at the prosperity of others as it would rejoice at its own.

What can be the cause of this jealousy? ought not the English nation at this enlightened period to know, that it is in a great measure owing to themselves, by sending over too frequently persons, from the earliest period of connexion between the two countries, to rule or manage Ireland;—persons possessing neither discernment or capacity equal to the task, that it is so far behind England in civilization

and in improvement? One might suppose that it suited the narrow purposes of the English minister, for the time being, and perhaps it served to make provision for a favourite; the fashionable and familiar phrase having usually been, that "he will "do well enough to keep the Irish in good "humour."

That there are many and brilliant exceptions, I am ready to admit. Lord Whitworth, the present Lord Lieutenant, is a Nobleman of distinguished character through life. In Lord Manners, the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, I defy any country to produce a more perfectly polished nobleman, one, who always firm, "bears his "faculties more meekly," or one of purer principles, than his Lordship; who has given complete satisfaction to all ranks by his upright decisions in the chair of equity.

Lord

Lord Manners gave early promise of the temper, prudence and talents best calculated to form a public character equal to the highest and most delicate situation. When Solicitor-General to the Prince of Wales, the question concerning the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall, which had accrued during the minority of the Prince, came before Parliament; it was warmly contested; the Sovereign and the Heir Apparent were placed in a state of opposition to each other. Under these distressing circumstances, his Royal Highness's Solicitor-General carried himself with so much discretion, neither entrenching on the respect and duty he owed to the King, nor compromising the claims of the Prince, that he gained the admiration of both sides of the House, and of all parties out of it. Both Ministers and their opponents were content to leave the adjustment of the case

to so faithful a subject, and a public servant of such chastened zeal, and such approved integrity and honour. This matter which at first assumed so threatening an appearance, was completely set at rest. It has never again disturbed the tranquillity of the country.

The Primate is of the Bute family; his Grace, who had been, as Rector of Luton, esteemed one of the best parish priests in England, on his arrival in Ireland had imbibed the notions which are usual on first coming from England; but his Grace is now fortunately beginning to see and correct his prejudices. Mrs. Stewart unites every thing that is amiable and good in her composition; and no person can be more calculated than she is to give general satisfaction, when placed in her present elevated situation of life.

Sir

Sir Edward Baker Littlehales has for a long time fulfilled the duties of the War Department with great attention and infinite credit and honour; and has deservedly gained the esteem and regard of all those who know him.

I have not the honour of being known personally to Mr. Peel. I can only judge from his firm and upright support of the interests of Ireland, in an animated and judicious speech he made relative to the Corn-laws, in which subject was embarked the vital interests of the country. The law proposed was carried, much through his exertion and eloquence.

Mr. Peel deserves the highest praise for his manly resistance to the dangerous inroads on the constitution attempted by the Roman Catholics, as well as his good-humoured defence of the Orangemen, who are struck at in every session of Parliament,

whilst not a syllable is urged in check of those political descendants of the United Irishmen, the Ribbon-men,* and others, whose

* I subjoin the Ribbonman's Oath, &c. as the same appeared on the trial of James Reilly at the Trim Assizes. I give it without attempting to correct the language of the Oath. It appears in its original vulgarity and brutality.

Trim Assizes, July 28, 1815.

James Reilly was tried before Mr. Justice Daly, upon an indictment, which charged him with having taken an unlawful oath, called, " *The Ribbonman's Oath.*"

Mr. Jebb stated the case on behalf of the crown.

Thos. Battersby, Esq. examined by Mr. Espinasse. Is a magistrate of the county of Meath; saw the prisoner on the morning of the 29th November last. He had been apprehended at Oldcastle the preceding night, in consequence of directions given to the police officers. Prisoner made a confession, which witness took down in writing, he made it *freely and voluntarily*,

whose nightly outrages and daily endeavours to defeat the law, disgrace the country.

It

rily, without any promise or hope held out to him, or any threat calculated to excite fear.

Thomas Reilly, the prisoner's brother, and another witness were then examined, who deposed, that they saw the prisoner in the churchyard, with a 56lb. weight fastened to one of his legs, by a plough chain.

Upon their cross examination they said, that the prisoner had the accommodation of the school-room; that he was not removed to the place where they saw him, until *after Mr. Battersby had taken his confession*, and that he was supplied with sufficient food, &c.

The learned judge permitted the confession to be read. It was as follows:—"That on the 28th September last, at the Mile-house, near Drogheda, he was sworn to the purport of the oath, No. 1, (now found on him), by a man, who called himself Hugh Flinn, and said, he came from Carrickmacross; says, he swore Peter Fray and James Gerartry, both of Granard, weavers in the town of Granard, about a fortnight since, to the oath, No. 2, which he drew out himself. Understands *the purport of the society was*,

to

It is to be lamented, that each and all of our Irish gentlemen, who have seats in Parliament,

to have *no dealings with Protestants, and to support each other in all cases of necessity.* Paper, No. 4, he got from a man who lives near Baileborough, in the county of Cavan; he believes his name is Michael Smyth; prayer-book found in his pocket belongs to himself; knows *a number of the society in his own county: cannot break his oath by telling how many, or their names.* The society was not to rob any person of money or arms, but to be *ready to be called on by the committee or their agents;* cannot tell when the committee met, or who presided: expects he will get from them money to support him now, while in confinement; cannot tell how it may be conveyed to him. *No Free-mason or Orangeman* to be of their society—none but *pure Catholics.*

John Manning was again examined by Mr. Ridgeway. He stated, that having directions to arrest a man who was charged with administering "the Ribbonman's Oath," and that he would find the oath in his hat. Witness found the prisoner in the house of Peter Smyth: he went up to the prisoner, and immediately

Parliament, should be so limited in their respective powers, or backward in exerting them,

diately pulled off his hat; the prisoner snatched a parcel of papers out of his hat, and endeavoured to give them to another person, but they were secured by Miller: the prisoner then made great resistance, and was with difficulty secured.

Edward Miller, examined by Mr. Kemmis, corroborated this evidence, and produced the papers which were taken from the prisoner's hat; they had been exhibited to the prisoner before the magistrate, and he had admitted them to be his.

The paper, No. 1, was then read, of which the following is a literal copy.

Oath, No. 1.

" In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost! Amen.

" What is your name?

" I do come here, and make oath on the Evangelists and Catholic church, and enter into the following resolutions, that I will keep secret of all that I here see this day, until death and after.

" 1. That

them, as not to exercise their talents or bring forward their stores of information for

"1. That you will keep secret, and help, and aid, and assist, and support those articles unto death and after, and lead to a Catholic life.—2. That you will not connect with any Protestant, or Freemason, or any other connexion that is against you, but those that is connected with you.—3. That you shall not quarrel, riot, brag, or boast upon the strength of your confederacy.—4. That you will not rob, nor steal, nor defraud any brother to the valuation of from sixpence to a shilling to your knowledge, or knowing, without making a restitution. —5. That no man shall be taken in here, on your vigour or strength, without two or more of the same society.—6. That you shall not appear before judge, bar, or jury, and justice, for the injury of your said brother.—7. That if any thing derives between you and your said brother, that you will leave it to the decision of two or more of the said brothers.—8. That you shall not leave one penny with a Protestant, which you will get with a Roman Catholic as cheap.—9. That no man shall be received here but a true Catholic, and that alone, unless he is duly inspected into his character,

for the public good. The state of the country where there is so much room for amelioration,

ter, by two or more of the same society.—10. That you are not to let yourself be kflowing to a man unless he is tried by word, or sign, and not to divulge your secret in drunkenness—in your sobriety, for dread or fear, or let yourself be knowing to any man, but a brother.—11. That you will attend to all true and lawful causes, and if not, that you shall give true and lawful account for your non-attendance.—12. That you are to stand for each other in all true and lawful causes, until death."

The paper, No. 2, was next read, as follows :—

" ✠ In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost!

" What is your name?

" I do come here and make oath, on the holy Evangelists and Catholic church—I will enter into the following resolution, in the presence of the Almighty God and the blessed Virgin Mary, that I never will turn King's evidence against any man in this society, in the honour of the holy cross, that I will keep secret from this day until death."

The

lioration, cannot but be known to them, and loudly demands their assistance. And here, I cannot avoid remarking that it is matter of great surprise that the British government should manifest such an indifference and want of attention towards civilizing the lower classes in Ireland. It looks as if they sat down in total despair, or they reckoned it a fundamental principle of policy to keep them in an unenlightened state, as if they were thus best convertible, as occasion might serve, to answer any purposes.

Let me indulge a hope however that something effectual will now be done in the progress

The paper No. 3, was nearly similar to No. 1, but did not contain so many articles.

The paper No. 4 was a copy of verses, or song: it was not received in evidence.

Mr. M'Nally urged that the oath was not illegal, and did not come within the statute.

gress of civilization. A powerful machinery has been constructed, and I trust it has not been set up to amuse in order to deceive the public, and that our expectations have not been excited only to be mocked I have perused with supreme satisfaction the "REPORTS OF THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION IN IRELAND," to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed at various intervals, from April 1809 to December 1812, inclusive; and ordered to be reprinted in 1813. The Reports form a folio volume of 355 pages, closely printed, and they present a noble body of information, which must delight all patriotic hearts; setting forth the provision made to furnish education to thousands of the existing generation, and to millions unborn. It appears, from an Appendix to the fourteenth Report, that the

the number of scholars who are Protestants amount to forty-five thousand five hundred and ninety, and of Roman Catholic scholars to one hundred and sixteen thousand nine hundred and seventy-seven. According to this mode of calculation, by the way, loose enough perhaps, but freed from the concealments and aggravations of party, the number of Roman Catholics compared with Protestants is not three to one.

I hope my readers will allow me to dwell upon this topic; my purpose is not merely to gratify my own feelings, but to stimulate others, and to make all classes acquainted with the great efforts which are making to retrieve the mass of our population from all the disgrace, and all the evils of barbarism. It was said, as I have read, of one of the sages of antiquity, that he had brought philosophy from heaven and the abode of the gods to dwell among men. I

shall

shall endeavour to divulge and make known to all, the transcendent labours of the commissioners; to draw them out of the voluminous Parliamentary Reports, where they lie concealed from the general eye, and to publish every where what has been done, in order to enlarge the sphere of its utility —in short to bring them as closely united with practice as I can.

I here record with a degree of veneration the names of those eminent personages who, by virtue of a warrant issued by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (Lord Whitworth), dated Dublin Castle, October 30, 1815, were constituted and appointed commissioners of the board, viz. The Right Rev. William Lord Bishop of Derry, for the province of Ulster; the Right Rev. Thomas Lord Bishop of Cork, for the province of Munster; the Right Rev. Percy Lord Bishop of Fernes, for the province of Leinster;

and the Right Reverend James Lord Bishop of Killala, for the province of Connaught; together with the Right Hon. the Earl of Desart, the Right Hon. John Maxwell Barry, the Right Hon. William Fitzgerald and John Leslie Foster, Esq.*

The

* The act of Parliament out of which the whole measure issues, bears date 10th July 1813. The original appointment of Commissioners by that statute is conceived as follows, "be it enacted, &c. that the Lord "Primate of all Ireland, the Lord High Chancellor of "Ireland, the Lord Archbishop of Dublin, the Lord "Archbishop of Tuam, all now and hereafter for the "time being; and the respective Coadjutors of the said "Primate and Archbishops, now or hereafter for the "time being; the Lord Chief Justice of the Court of "King's Bench in Ireland, and the Provost of Trinity "College, Dublin, now or hereafter for the time being; "and also four of the bishops of Ireland, to be appointed by the Lord Lieutenant or other chief governor or "governors of Ireland for the time being, (one bishop "for each province in Ireland) together with four "other

The first meeting was held November, 1813, at which were present, Lord Manners, Lord High Chancellor of Ireland, the Lord Bishop of Derry, the Lord Bishop of Ferns, the Rev. Thomas Elrington, Provost of Trinity College, John Barry and John Leslie Forster, Esquires. The Commissioners proceeded to appoint a secretary, when John Corneille, Esq. Barrister at Law, was unanimously elected.—From that time the commissioners entered on the active dis-

 charge

"other proper and discreet persons whom the Lord "Lieutenant or other chief governor or governors "of Ireland for the time being shall think fit to ap- "point to be commissioners under this Act, (such "four bishops and four other persons so appointed by "the Lord Lieutenant or other chief governor or go- "vernors of Ireland for the time being, to be remove- "able at his or their pleasure), shall be a corporation, "and shall have a perpetual succession and a common "seal, and shall be called, *The Commissioners of Edu- "cation in Ireland.*"

charge of their duty, which they have executed with the most minute fidelity, and on the most enlarged views. Their Reports now lying before me, in the interesting volume above mentioned, are fourteen in number, extending to I. Free Schools of Royal Foundation.—II. Schools of Navan and Ballyroan, of Private Foundation.—III. The Protestant Charter Schools (with Appendixes).—IV. Diocesan Free Schools.—V. Wilson's Hospital, County of Westmeath.—VI. Blue Coat Hospital and Free School, founded by King Charles II.—VII. Hibernian School, in the Phœnix Park.—VIII. Foundling Hospital, in the City of Dublin.—IX. Schools founded by Erasmus Smith, Esq.—X. Hibernian Marine School, in the City of Dublin.—XI. Parish Schools throughout Ireland.—XII. Classical Schools of Private Foundation.—XIII. English Schools, of Private Foundation, in Ireland.

land.—XIV. Result: Retrospective View of the Schools; Plan for the general Education of the lower Orders of the People of Ireland; recorded Opinions (in an Appendix) of Mr. Grattan, Mr. Edgeworth, and Mr. Leslie Foster.

Of these I shall present my readers with the third, by which it appears that there are on this establishment one thousand eight hundred and ten children in the schools of the Protestant charter schools and four hundred and twenty in the nurseries.

To His Grace CHARLES *Duke of* RICHMOND *and* LENOX, *Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland, &c. &c. &c.*

May it please your Grace,

We the undersigned Commissioners for enquiring into the several Funds and Revenues granted for the purposes of Education, and into the State and Condition of all Schools on Public and Charitable Foundations in Ireland, have

thought it necessary to prefix to our Report upon the present State of "The PROTESTANT CHARTER SCHOOLS," some account of the Origin, Object, and Progress of those Schools, as well as of their Conduct and Management, which we therefore beg leave to submit to your Grace in the following Statement:

The Charter for establishing Protestant Schools in Ireland, was granted by his late Majesty George the Second, in the year 1733, on the Petition of the principal Nobility, Clergy and Gentry of Ireland, setting forth the gross ignorance, disaffection and want of civilization that prevailed among the Popish Inhabitants, who in the provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, were stated as far exceeding the Protestants in number: and praying the incorporation of a Society for establishing and maintaining a sufficient number of English Protestant Schools in proper situations, as one of the most effectual means of converting and civilizing the Irish natives; and in which the Children of the

Poor

Poor might be instructed *gratis* in the English tongue, and the fundamental principles of true religion and loyalty. The Charter, after reciting the above particulars, proceeds to nominate and appoint the Persons who are to compose a Society incorporated for erecting, maintaining and supporting, in such places as they shall judge to be most convenient and necessary, such and so many English Protestant Schools as they shall think proper, with power to appoint fit Persons to be Schoolmasters and Schoolmistresses of the same, who shall instruct the Children of the Popish and other poor Natives in the English tongue, in the principles of the Protestant religion, in reading, writing and arithmetic, and such other parts of learning as to the Society shall seem meet, and bring them up in virtue and industry, and cause them to be instructed in husbandry and housewifery, or in trades or other manual occupations; for which the Society are to provide them with all necessary utensils and materials, as also with bibles and common

prayer books, and other proper books, and to give them encouragements by providing clothes, diet, and lodging, for such of them as to the Society shall seem meet, until they shall judge them fit to be put out to trades or services, or other employments: and to allow the Masters and Mistresses such yearly wages or salaries as shall seem reasonable, together with the benefit of school-houses, dwelling-houses, gardens, fields, and other the accommodations for the purposes aforesaid. It further directs that a Committee of fifteen Members of the Society, chosen annually, shall carry into execution all orders, rules and directions made at the General Meetings, to be held quarterly or oftener; and provides for the admission of new Members into the Society, *viz.* such as being Protestants shall become subscribers or benefactors to the funds thereof. And for enabling the Society to carry these objects into effect, it makes them and their successors for ever capable of receiving and enjoying lands, rents, annuities, and other hereditaments,

ditaments, not exceeding the clear yearly value of two thousand Pounds, and to take and receive any sums of money, goods, or chattels that shall be given or bequeathed to them by any Persons or Bodies Corporate who shall be capable of making such gifts or bequests.

The Charter was opened the 6th of February 1733-4 in the Council Chamber of the Castle of Dublin, in the presence of the Duke of Dorset, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and many of the principal nobility, gentry, and clergy; and a subscription was immediately entered into, and afterwards carried on both in England and Ireland, by which the Society was enabled to found one School in the course of the following year; it was placed at Castle-Dermot, in the county of Kildare, in acknowledgement of the munificence of the then Earl of Kildare, who in addition to his original subscription of five hundred Pounds, engaged to endow it with a grant of twenty Acres of Land. Three other Schools were founded in the year 1735, one in

1736,

1736, and three in 1737. In fixing on the sites of these and of their other Schools in general, the Society appears to have been determined partly by the presumed necessity for them in very Popish districts, and partly by the offers of Protestant landholders to endow them with Lands, not only for building on, but for the maintenance and support of the Schools, and to afford opportunities for instructing and exercising the Boys in agriculture and gardening. Such endowments were in general made by leases renewable for ever, or on very long tenures and at very low rents (on the condition however of reverting to the grantors and their heirs, if the Schools should be discontinued, or not kept up to the original establishment); and the Lands annexed to each School are held under the Society by the Masters at an advanced rent, but usually far below the real value, so as to form a considerable part of their income. The Protestant gentry and clergy in the neighbourhood of each School usually contributed to its support by

by annual subscriptions; the average of these and other subscriptions for the first four years, (which, with the profit rents already mentioned, were then the only funds of the Society) amounted to about sixteen hundred Pounds per annum. Of this sum, the greater part was raised in England, where a Society was formed for the purpose of procuring such contributions, and which subsisted for many years, under the name of "The Corresponding Society."—In the year 1738, His Majesty George the Second, having on an Address from the Society been graciously pleased to augment its Funds by the grant of one thousand Pounds, which was afterwards continued annually, six additional Schools were erected, with similar encouragement and support from those on whose estates or in whose neighbourhood they were placed; and other liberal offers and contributions continuing to be annually made to the Society, they were enabled in the next nine years to establish as many new Schools.

In

In the year 1740, the Society became possessed of their first landed Estate, devised to them by the Honourable Mrs. Anne Hamilton, for founding a School at Dundalk, and situated in the county of Down; it was then let for thirty-five Pounds nineteen Shillings and six Pence, but has since risen to two hundred and seventy-six Pounds per annum. In the year 1747, the produce of the Duty on Hawkers and Pedlars was granted by Parliament to the Society, amounting on an average of the next forty years, to eleven hundred and fifty Pounds per annum. By this bounty of Parliament, the Society was enabled to erect fourteen new Schools in the next three years. And in 1751. the Duke of Dorset, then again Lord Lieutenant, having recommended the Charter Schools in his speech on the opening of the Session of Parliament, the sum of five thousand Pounds was granted to the Society on a Petition of the House of Commons to His Majesty; in consequence of which, seven additional Schools were established in the three

three following years. From that time to the present, the Society have continued to receive Parliamentary Grants every Session, which indeed became necessary from the great increase of their Establishments. The sums granted have usually varied with the exigencies of the Society; in the first ten years, the average of them amounted to about three thousand five hundred Pounds per annum; in the next ten, to about five thousand eight hundred and twenty Pounds; in the next, to about six thousand one hundred Pounds; in the next, to above nine thousand Pounds; in the next, to eleven thousand eight hundred and fifty Pounds; and in the last seven, to near twenty thousand Pounds per annum. One reason for this great increase in the last twenty years is, that about the year 1787, the Duty on Hawkers and Pedlars became wholly unproductive; and the amount of annual subscriptions had then, and has since declined very considerably; and in the year 1794, on the adoption of new regulations in the management

nagement of the Treasury in Ireland, His Majesty's bounty of one thousand Pounds per annum being discontinued, the Parliamentary Grant was augmented, as a compensation to the Society. In the year 1758, there was an extraordinary grant of five thousand Pounds, (included in the average of the first ten years) for erecting four Provincial Nurseries for the reception of Children below the age of admission into the Schools, for the maintenance of which, Parliament was in some degree pledged, by thus sanctioning and directing Establishments for which no other provision existed; and the grants were accordingly larger from the time these Nurseries were opened; they were designed to contain one hundred Children each, and have usually their full complement. In the same year, 1758, the Society having become possessed of Lands in the county of Westmeath, and other property bequeathed to them by the Reverend William Wilson, for founding a Charter School in that county, did accordingly establish

blish one on the Lands so devised, the clear rents of which amount at present to one hundred and ninety-one Pounds seventeen Shillings and six Pence per annum. In the year 1760, the Estates of the late Earl of Ranelagh, which had been devised by him for the support of Charity Schools at Roscommon and Athlone, were vested in the Society by Act of Parliament; and two Schools were in a short time accordingly established at those places, into which, agreeably to the Will of Lord Ranelagh, the Children of Protestants only are admitted. The rental of these Estates amounts at present to one thousand seven hundred and forty-eight Pounds two Shillings and six Pence. In the year 1763, Doctor Richard Pococke, Bishop of Ossory, bequeathed a considerable Estate both real and personal to the Incorporated Society, for founding a Weaving School near Kilkenny, for Papist Boys only, to be educated in the Protestant Religion, which School was accordingly established, and continues to be supported out of said bequest; the

real

real Estate produces at this time eight hundred and forty-six Pounds, nine Shillings and four Pence Halfpenny, and is more than sufficient for the maintenance of the present Establishment; so that there is now an accumulation of this Fund, of above sixteen hundred Pounds in the hands of the Society. In the year 1764, the late Chidley Coote, Esquire, devised an Estate in the county of Limerick to the Society, which is let at present for 280*l.* per annum. Since that time, there have been four additional Schools erected out of the general Funds of the Society; one at Castlebar in 1768; one at Tarbert; and another at New-market, since suppressed; and the School in Baggot-street in the City of Dublin, established in 1804. The total number of Schools founded by the Society, including the Nurseries and those on the Ranelagh and Pococke Foundations, amounted to fifty-eight, and were capable of containing about two thousand seven hundred Children. It is certain however that this number was never

actually

actually accommodated in them at any one time; and indeed the entire number of Schools never existed together, as several of them had been suppressed or otherwise discontinued, before the latest of them had been established. This was occasioned generally by the local disadvantages of their situation, and in some instances by the resumption of Lands which had been granted for their support. The number of those of all descriptions remaining at present is thirty-nine; in which there appear, by the last Returns, to have been two thousand two hundred and fifty-one Children.

In the year 1786, the Funds of the Society were augmented by the Estates of the late John Rogerson, Esq. who had directed in his Will that they should be sold, and the purchase money, after paying certain legacies and other bequests, be vested in the Incorporated Society. It appears however that only so much of his Estates was sold, as was sufficient for discharging these bequests, and the Society obtained

possession of the remainder, which produced at that time thirteen hundred and fifty-nine Pounds fourteen Shillings and one Penny per annum, but have since been raised to seventeen hundred and seventy Pounds. In 1789, the Society succeeded to an Estate in the County of Louth, at present producing above three hundred Pounds per annum, under the Will of the late Dean Stewart, dated in the year 1774, which directed that on failure of issue of the immediate devisees, it should be vested in the Incorporated Society, for the purposes therein expressed. There have been other smaller Bequests and Donations of Lands and Rent-charges for the support of particular Schools, amounting in the whole to about two hundred and thirty-eight Pounds per annum; and the profit rent of the Lands, held by the several Schoolmasters under the Society, amounts to about one hundred and eighty Pounds per annum. There is also an annual Grant of two hundred and fifty Pounds made to the Society, by the Governors of

Erasmus

Erasmus Smith's Schools, for the support of the Charter School of Sligo. In the year 1790, a Dutch Nobleman resident in London, Baron Vryhouven, bequeathed to the Society a great part of his funded property, amounting to fifty-six thousand six hundred and sixty-six Pounds stock in the three per cent. Consols, and producing an interest of about seventeen hundred Pounds per annum. And about the same time an unknown Benefactor transferred to the Society, stock to the amount of forty thousand Pounds in the four per cents. producing about sixteen hundred Pounds per annum. The entire produce of these several Funds and Estates bequeathed to, and vested in the Incorporated Society, for the sole and express purpose of educating poor Children in the Protestant religion, and apprenticing them to Protestant Masters, amounted in the last year (exclusive of the Parliamentary Grant) to 9,765*l.* 9*s.* 7*d.* per annum.

Having submitted to your Grace the result of

our enquiries into the Funds and Revenues of the Incorporated Society, we proceed to report to your Grace upon the conduct and management of the Institution.

The business of the Society is transacted by Committees, under the controul of a General Board, which meets regularly on the first Wednesday in every month, and on other Days when specially summoned by requisition signed by seven Members. There are four Committees:

1st. The Committee of Fifteen.

2d. The Committee of Accounts.

3d. The Law Committee.

4th. The Committee for examining into the qualifications of persons who offer themselves as candidates for the situations of Masters, Mistresses, and Assistants in the Schools.

Of these the principal is the Committee of Fifteen, which is elected annually by ballot on the first Wednesday in February, and which meets regularly every Wednesday in the year, and oftener

oftener when necessary. Upon this Committee almost the whole weight of the labour of management rests; it is empowered to transact all the ordinary business of the Society, except the election and dismissal of Officers and of Masters and Mistresses, and the letting Leases of the Society's Lands, which acts can only be done by a General Board. The duties of the Committee of Fifteen are various, to the adequate discharge of which much zeal, integrity and assiduity are indispensably required; and on the manner in which these duties are performed, the welfare of the whole Establishment principally depends. The three first of these Committees seem coeval with the Society; the fourth, the Committee for examining into the qualifications of Masters, Mistresses and Assistants to the Schools, was appointed in the year 1804. This Committee, as well as the Committee of fifteen, is open to every Member of the Society, and public notice is given of the days on which examinations of the Candidate

Masters, &c. are to be held. The effects resulting from the appointment of this Committee appear to have been highly salutary and important, in excluding unqualified, and bringing forward meritorious Candidates. The Officers of the Society are, a Secretary, at a Salary of two hundred and fifty Pounds per annum; a Clerk or Register, at one hundred Guineas per annum; and an Inspector of Apprentices in the City of Dublin, at a Salary of twenty Pounds per annum. In addition to these Committees and Officers resident and acting in the City of Dublin, each School is under the immediate direction of a Local Committee, consisting of the principal resident Protestant Gentlemen and Ladies of the neighbourhood, and of a Catechist, who is always a Clergyman of the established church, and generally the Curate of the Parish in which the School is situated. It is the duty of the Catechist to superintend the Education of the Children generally, and more especially their religious instruction, and to communicate month-

ly

ly his observations upon the state of the School and conduct of the Master, and, in concert with the Local Committee, to exercise general controul, examine and settle Accounts, and report every quarter to the Committee of Fifteen in Dublin.

In theory, no constitution seems better calculated to advance the purposes of the Society than the establishment of Local Committees; but it appears, from the experience, as well of this Society as of the Society for propagating Christian Knowledge in Scotland, that Local Committees are not to be universally or implicitly relied upon, either as an effectual means of controul over the management of the Schools, or as accurate organs of communication of their actual state. To this general observation, there are some highly honourable exceptions to be made. But it appears that the Society has not unfrequently been misled as to the actual state of their Schools, by the too favourable representations of their Local Committees.

We must not omit, that there is a standing rule of the Society, that their Schools shall be at all seasonable hours open to the inspection of any gentleman or lady who may think proper to visit them, who are also requested to write their observations in a book kept in every School for the purpose; and the several Masters are required, under pain of dismission, to return true Copies of such observations, once in every quarter.

The words of the original Charter do not restrain the admission of Children to any particular Sect. It appears, however, that by two Resolutions of general Boards, one holden on the 15th day of March 1775, and the other on the 4th day of December 1776, the admission of Children was for a long time almost entirely confined to such as were of Popish parents. But this practice not appearing to be warranted by the Charter, those Resolutions were at a General Board, holden on the 4th day of May 1803, unanimously rescinded; and since that period,

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all Children who appeared to be proper objects, have been admitted, without any distinction, on account of the religious profession of their Parents, excepting only into the two Ranelagh Schools of Athlone and Roscommon, which were endowed for the Education of poor Protestants only, and the Lintown Factory near Kilkenny, the admission into which is restrained by the Will of the Founder to Children of Popish parents.

The age of admission into the Nurseries, is from four to six, into the Schools from six to ten; the Children are kept in the Schools until they are apprenticed. There are printed Forms of Application for admission, which must be signed by the Parents, if alive and in Ireland, and if not, by the nearest of kin in whose care the Child is. When the Parents applying are of the Popish persuation, it is distinctly stated to them, that their Child, if received into the care of the Society, will be educated in the Protestant Religion, and unless

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the Parents unequivocally express their full approbation, admission is refused. Parents and Relations are allowed at all times to visit their Children, except in the Dublin Schools, where the applications were so frequent, that it was found necessary to fix a particular day in each week for the purpose. The restriction which required that the Master or Mistress should be present at these interviews is not generally enforced, unless some improper conduct on the part of the Parent requires it. Children are sometimes returned to their Parents, where it is ascertained to the satisfaction of the Society, that, from change in the circumstances of the Parents it is likely to be of advantage to the Child to be so returned; the general rule is, that in such cases the Parent shall reimburse the Society the expenses which have been incurred: but this rule is in all proper cases dispensed with. Applications for the restoration of Children are not numerous. At present, admission into the Schools is generally the subject of earnest

earnest solicitation, and no effort is required on the part of the Society to fill their Schools and Nurseries.

The Children under the care of the Society are fed by contract with the Masters; and in all the Nurseries and Schools, excepting three, they are also clothed by contract. Though some well founded objections may be alledged against this system, yet, from the nature of the Institution, it seems the only practicable method that can be adopted; and the Society have provided checks against peculation and abuses. From the Reports of the Visitors lately employed by us to inspect these Schools, it may be inferred, that these Contracts are at present faithfully executed, as it appears that the Children in general were healthy and well clad. The rate of the contract for Feeding is generally four Pence per head *per diem*, in the Schools, and Nurseries in the country; and it varies from five Pence to five Pence three Farthings, in those in and near the City of Dublin. The Con-

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tract for Clothing is two Pounds four Shillings for each Boy, and one Pound nineteen shillings for each Girl. The Dietary is set forth in the Appendix to this Report. Bedsteads and Bedding, and all the necessary furniture of the School-houses are supplied by the Society.

The Children are removed, or as the Society terms it, transplanted from the Nurseries to Schools, and from one School to another. The three general causes for transplantation are,

1st. The necessity of removing Children from Nurseries to Schools, which ought regularly to be done when the Children in the former attain the age of seven or eight years.

2dly. The equable distribution of Children among the several Schools of the establishment; for a great proportion of the whole number being admitted in Dublin, it becomes frequently necessary to remove them from the Schools in the neighbourhood of the Capital, and to send them to others where there happen to be vacancies made by Children who have been apprenticed.

ticed. Similar circumstances frequently require the removal of Children from one country School to another.

3dly. The interference of Parents with respect to the Religion of their Children. The avowed object of the Society being to educate the Children intrusted to its care in the established Religion, whenever this object is likely to be interupted by the interference of the Parent, the Child is removed from the Neighbourhood of the Parent's residence to a more distant School. But this measure does not appear to be now often rendered necessary; and the two prevailing causes for removal appear to be the former, and to arise necessarily from the very nature of the Establishment. It appears that great care is taken to prevent the health of the Children from suffering by removals, which are, as far as is practicable, confined to the spring and summer season, and proper Cars, with a covering to protect the Children from the weather, but not to conceal them from public view, are provided

provided for the purpose. It appears, however, that this frequent necessity for removal is a serious inconvenience, attended with trouble, risk and expense, and that this inconvenience is greatly augmented by the existence of the Nurseries.

The Children in those Schools are taught Reading, Writing and Arithmetic, and instructed in the principles of the Protestant Religion, as by law established. The Books used are set forth in the Appendix. In this List was found till very lately the Catechism, intituled, "The Protestant Catechism," but this formula of instruction, justly liable to exception, has been wholly discontinued in all the Schools, by a late order of the Society. The Holy Scriptures are not only read, but made the subject of exposition and the foundation of religious instruction; and the proficiency which many of the Children have obtained in useful and practical knowledge derived from this service, appears from the Reports of our Visitors to be highly gratifying

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and satisfactory. In the School at Clontaf for Boys, and of Baggot-street for Girls, it appears that a Class has been established under the direction of the Society, to be instructed in such a course as may qualify them for the situations of Assistants, in these and other schools: the experiment seems to have been already attended with success, and, if well followed up, may be productive of considerable advantage to general education. With respect to Industry, the labour of the Children (subject to the Rules of the Society as to the time allotted for education, meals, refreshment and play,) is at present at the disposal of the several Masters, who are charged at the rate of twenty Shillings per annum, on three fourths of the Children under their care; one fourth being supposed, from youth and occasional infirmity, to be incapable of productive industry. Their employments are various, and in some Schools appear to be judiciously conducted. But in this department, there seems to be room for much improvement.

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The Children educated in the Charter Schools, are apprenticed to Protestant Masters only. A list is kept in every School, and returned to the Society once in every quarter, signed by the Catechist, of such Children, who from age, advancement in learning and religious knowledge, are fit to be apprenticed. When the Boys are apprenticed to Trades, the Master is allowed a Fee of five Guineas; and when Girls, a Fee of seven Guineas, payable at the periods, and subject to the restrictions set forth in the Appendix. When Children are apprenticed as Servants, no fee is payable. Both Boys and Girls are entitled to receive a bounty of three Guineas at the end of their apprenticeships, provided they produce a Certificate from their Masters or Mistresses of faithful service, and from the Clergyman of the Parish in which they are resident of continuance in the Protestant Religion. All Children apprenticed are supplied with a set of Books; and when the Indentures are signed, a letter is written by the Secretary

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in the name of the Society to the Clergyman of the Parish in which the Master or Mistress resides, requesting his attention to their conduct, and to that of the Apprentice, particularly as to his attendance upon the public duties of Religion; and that he will report as occasion may require to the Committee of Fifteen. When Children are apprenticed in Dublin, there is also, in addition to the written testimonial required in all cases, a previous inspection and enquiry into the situation, circumstances and character of the Master, before the Child is bound. Notwithstanding these precautions (which do not appear to have been attended with the desired success) we are concerned to state, that it appears from a Return made to us, that a large proportion of the Masters of Children apprenticed, do not receive the last part of their Apprentice Fee, and of the Children the bounty for faithful service; and it was not until the last year, that the Committee of fifteen, in order to ascertain

what became of their Apprentices, have employed a Person to enquire into the state of the Children now serving their time in the neighbourhood of the several Schools out of which they were bound. Reports have already been received of one thousand and twenty-one Apprentices. It appears, that during the last seven years, there have been apprenticed to Trades nine hundred and five Boys and Girls, and to Services four hundred and forty-six; total 1,351: average of each year 193. And the number of Children received into the several Schools and Nurseries, during the last seven years, have been two thousand six hundred and nineteen; average of each 374. And the average number of Children maintained and educated in these Schools during the last seven years, has been two thousand and ninety-three, of which number 1,289 were Boys and 804 were Girls; and the number under the care of the Society on the 29th of September 1808, was two thousand two hundred and fifty-one, of

which

which number 1,360 were Boys and 891 Girls. The average annual expenditure of the Society for the last seven years, has been thirty thousand one hundred and fifty-seven Pounds fifteen Shillings and six Pence, including every expence of feeding, clothing, education, salaries, repairs of buildings, and new buildings, bounties, apprentice fees and marriage portions; dividing this by 2,093, the average number of Children maintained and educated, it appears that the average annual expense of each Child to the Institution, has been fourteen Pounds eight Shillings and two Pence. And as the average time which each Child remains under the care of the Society, is stated to us to be seven years, it follows, that each Child costs the Society, from the period of admission to the close of his apprenticeship, the sum of one hundred Pounds seventeen Shillings and two Pence.

The present state and condition of the Charter Schools, in every respect, will appear by the

Reports of the Visitors employed by us, and hereunto annexed; and also by a Report from the Lord Bishop of Derry, who kindly undertook to visit three of the most remote Northern Schools, viz. Ray, Ballycastle and Ballykelly, which Report is also subjoined, and which contains his Lordship's sentiments as to the means of their improvement. It was conceived, that any information which we could derive upon this subject from persons concerned in the management of the Institution in any of its departments, might be liable to exception; it was therefore determined to employ persons, whose characters entitled them to the confidence of this Board, to make an actual survey or inspection of all the Schools. For this purpose, the Reverend Doctor Beaufort, and Mr. Corneille, our Secretary, were selected; and their Reports, together with that of the Bishop of Derry, contain a statement founded on actual survey of all the Schools and Nurseries. They correspond in the main with the observations of Members of this Board,

Board, who have visited these Schools, and, we are satisfied, present a true and correct statement of their present actual condition. The contrast they form with Reports heretofore made of the state of those Schools from unquestionable authority, is highly honourable to the late exertions of the Committees of Fifteen, who appear to have devoted themselves with equal zeal, ability and success, to their laborious and important duties. This contrast is calculated to excite an expectation, that a much higher degree of improvement is attainable, under a continuance of the same system. Without entering at present into the consideration how far the main purpose of the Institution might be more effectually advanced upon a plan essentially different, we think it right to suggest those obvious points of improvement and correction, which arise out of a view of the documents and information laid before us. It appears,

First. That though the recent suppression of some ill-situated and ill-conducted Schools has

been productive of considerable advantage, the number and dispersion of the Schools still remaining, renders the management of them complicated, and the inspection difficult.

2dly. That some of the Schools still remaining are much too small; others unprovided with sufficient Infirmaries, Dining-halls, Working-rooms, and other necessary accommodations; and that one is without any endowment of Land for the use of the Schoolmaster; that some of the School-houses are not in a state of repair; and that it would require a considerable sum to place all the Schools of the Establishment in such thorough and perfect order, as would adapt them to answer the purposes of the Institution.

3dly. That the Provincial Nurseries being in their original plan and general arrangement calculated chiefly for the reception of Children of very tender years, the Education of such Children as are suffered to remain there after the age of eight years, cannot be so well attended

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to, as in Schools where instruction and moral discipline are the principal objects.

4thly. That the regular removal of Children at the proper age from Nurseries to Schools is impracticable, as it depends upon the contingency of the Schools within proper distance affording a sufficient number of vacancies at the seasons suited for removing them.

5thly. That the frequent transplantation of Children is an evil, and greatly augmented in consequence of the number of Schools, and the existence of the Nurseries.

6thly. That no sufficient provision has been yet made for continuing the superintending care of the Society over the Children apprenticed; nor has there been any Registry kept of their conduct and progress after leaving the Schools, except so far as can be collected from the Registry of apprentice fees and bounties paid.

7thly. That the Reports of Local Committees in general are not implicitly to be depended on, and that some additional provisions for inspect-

ing and reporting the state of these Schools from time to time seems to be indispensably necessary.

8thly. That the Society have laboured under considerable difficulty in carrying repairs and alterations of buildings into execution in several places, and that wasteful and injudicious expenditure has been the necessary consequence, in spite of all the vigilance and caution that could be exercised by the Committee in Dublin.

9thly. That the Establishment called the Dublin Nursery, in Charlemount-street, is an inadequate one; and that the Infirmary for the diseased of all the Schools, attached to the School of Clontarf, ought to be wholly separated from it, and made a distinct Establishment.

10thly. That in general the labour of the Children is not as judiciously disposed of as it might be wished; that the system in this respect is defective, and calls for improvement.

In thus enumerating the points in which improvement seems to be called for, we do not

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mean to impute any blame to the governing body; much solid improvement has been effected in the face of many difficulties, and in a short space of time; and it is to be expected, that in the management of a complicated system, involving not Education only, but the Clothing and Maintenance of above two thousand two hundred Children scattered in thirty-nine different Establishments, and the regulating the concerns of a very extensive landed and funded property, some points should have escaped the vigilance and baffled the efforts of the Committees of Fifteen.

The Defects above enumerated suggest the proper Remedies.

1st. That such Schools as are too small, scantily endowed with land, inconvenient in point of situation or accommodation, and out of repair, should be suppressed as soon as accommodation can be provided for the Children therein contained, by the enlargement of Schools bet-

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ter adapted in every respect to answer the purposes of the Institution.

2dly. That the Establishments now called Nurseries, namely those of Monasterevan, Monivea, and Shannon Grove, be converted into Schools, in which Education and Industry shall be the principal objects; from which essential points the attention of the Superintendents is now necessarily diverted by the care required in the management of the health of a number of small Children.

3dly. That in order to carry this measure into effect, no Children be henceforth admitted till they have attained the age of six years.

4thly. That Visitors be henceforth employed by the Society, as well to inspect the state of the Schools as often as may appear to be necessary, as to enquire into and report upon the state of the Children who have been apprenticed.

5thly. That a Registry be kept of the situation, conduct, and progress of the Children apprenticed,

apprenticed, founded upon those Reports, so as henceforward to present as far as possible an accurate view of the progress of each Child, to the termination of its apprenticeship.

6thly. That the alterations, additions and improvements that may be projected, and the general superintendence of the Buildings of the Society in future be placed under the direction of one or more competent architects; and that all future alterations and additions to the Buildings of the Society, be founded on Reports to be received from persons qualified and employed for the purpose, and not merely on local information transmitted.

7thly. That with a view to the improvement of the Children in Industry, it may perhaps be advisable that in some Schools labour should be made more peculiarly the object than in others; that the employments to be pursued in each School (and which might be more diversified than at present) should be settled by the Society, on consideration of its particular circumstances and situation; that to excite the industry of the

Children,

Children, some part of their earnings should be allotted to their use; and in some Schools, such as Clontarf, near Dublin, some additional branches of instruction, as for example, Mathematics, Surveying, and Navigation, &c. might with advantage be introduced. The detail of arrangements by which such improvements are to be carried into effect, must be left to the discretion of the governing Body of the Society, and would be much facilitated by the reduction of the number of Schools, already recommended.

8thly. That with a view to direct the public attention continually to these Schools, and their progress, we recommend that annual Reports on their State and progressive Improvement, should be made by the Society to the Lord Lieutenant, or to The Board of Education, so long as it may continue to exist.

The wretched state of these Schools, at the period when Mr. Howard visited them, appears from his Report, which was confirmed by the evidence taken before the former Commissioners

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of Education, and by Reports drawn up by some Members of that Board. What degree of prosperity the Institution may have attained to at an earlier period of its existence, before the zeal which gave birth to it had in any degree subsided, we have not been able accurately to ascertain. Probably at its commencement, and for some years after, it was in a much more flourishing state than at later periods; but it is certain that from the period of Mr. Howard's Report, till some time after the Rebellion of 1798, (though some defects might have been remedied in consequence of Mr. Howard's statements, and the investigation of a Committee of the House of Commons in Ireland) no considerable reformation had taken place in the state of the Schools. For about the last-mentioned year, and for some time after, it appears that most of the Buildings were in a very ruinous condition, and some of the Schools in a state of great neglect and disorder; and they appear to have sunk into this condition from several causes.

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1st. To much caution and reserve as to Expenditure, proceeding probably in part from alarm excited by the situation of Public affairs.

2dly. The too general supineness of Local Committees, or their mistaken lenity in forbearing to report on the misconduct of Masters.

3dly. The difficulty of procuring a sufficiently constant and regular attendance of the Committees of fifteen in Dublin; for the duties of this office requiring time and labour, there have been certainly periods when the business of the Society in Dublin has experienced considerable interruption, and the general discipline of the Schools has been relaxed in consequence. Their present state of improvement is to be attributed principally to the zeal and exertions of the several successive Committees of fifteen of late years, as already remarked; and it may be here proper to observe, that their prosperity can subsist no longer than while the same causes continue to operate with the same energy. The means by which (in addition to the

the effects resulting necessarily from a regular discharge of the ordinary business of the Society) this improvement has been effected, appear to be chiefly the following:

1st. A just but necessary severity in the dismission of Masters and Mistresses, on the discovery of neglect and abuse.

2dly. The establishment of a Committee for the purpose of examining into the qualifications of Masters, Mistresses, and Assistants to the Schools.

3dly. A more liberal expenditure in the allowances to the several Masters, &c. on the Contracts for clothing and feeding the Children, and in the article of repairs, alterations, and additions to Buildings.

4thly. The employment of an Inspector sent from Dublin to all the Schools of the Society. It appears that this person was originally employed to instruct the Children in psalmody; but, in consequence of frequent judicious and useful remarks communicated by him, the Committee

mittee of fifteen were induced to enlarge his commission to a general inspection of several of the Schools, and of the Children apprenticed from them. The benefits resulting from this partial adoption of the system of inspection, confirms us in our expectation of the advantages that may result from its establishment upon a more liberal and extended scale.

Whilst we warmly and sincerely applaud the pious and patriotic efforts of those who contributed to the establishment, and laboured for the success of this Institution, we feel ourselves bound to state, that during a very considerable period of its existence, it appears to have fallen short of attaining the purposes for which it was established, and to have failed of one great object, that was intended and expected from it—the conversion of the lower orders of the Inhabitants of Ireland from the errors of Popery. The utter inadequacy of the Institution, in point of magnitude and extent, for that object, is sufficient to account

for

for this failure, independently of the operation of other causes. The number of Popish Children in all the Schools at any one time, has probably never amounted to sixteen hundred; and this must have borne so small a proportion to the whole number to be educated, as to have had no sensible influence on the great mass of population, even allowing, that all who were educated in these Schools, continued in the Protestant persuasion; this however is certainly not the fact; and though it is impossible to ascertain the number of those who have returned to the Popish persuasion, there is reason to believe that it has not been inconsiderable. But there is another important end of the Institution which has always been answered by it, to a certain extent, and appears at this time to be attained in a very high degree indeed—the instruction of so great a number of poor and destitute Children, bringing them up to habits of industry, and qualifying and enabling them to become useful members of society; advantages of

peculiar importance in a Country abounding in population, and where no general public fund is provided for relieving the distresses of the Poor. It is in this point of view, we cannot but recommend the Institution as deserving the continuance of that Legislative patronage and support which it has so long enjoyed: and we are persuaded, that if the zeal now so happily excited for the general advancement of moral and religious Education of the Poor, and which has already produced such salutary effects, shall continue to operate in giving full efficacy to the measures recommended in this Report, the most beneficial consequences may be expected to result to this part of the Empire. It appears that the reluctance of Popish Parents to commit their Children to the care of the Society, seems to have considerably subsided. Constant instances occur, of earnest solicitations by Popish Parents for the admission of their Children into these Schools, few of applications for their being returned. The prejudice, which formerly exist-

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ed against them in a much greater degree than at present, was probably augmented by the disrepute into which several of the Schools had deservedly fallen, by the Society having, contrary to the letter as well as the spirit of the original Charter, confined the admission of Children almost exclusively to those born of Popish Parents, and thus giving it the appearance of an Institution established solely for the purpose of conversion to the Protestant Religion; and by exaggerated notions of the course of instruction pursued. Such impressions will assuredly abate in proportion to the confidence that must result from general good management, from the liberal principles by which admission is now regulated, and from the Society having removed a well-founded objection to the course of religious education, by the discontinuance of the formula, called "The Protestant Catechism."

On the subject of the Consolidation of the Schools, which we have recommended to a cer-

tain extent, we are aware that many important ends of the Institution might perhaps be more effectually attained in four great Establishments, each containing from five to six hundred Children; the management would thus be rendered more simple, the superintendance more easy and efficient, the expense considerably smaller, and the field for improvement more extensive. The methods for conducting such Establishments, which have been of late years so happily introduced, are a great additional advantage; and if the whole Institution were now to be begun would probably determine us to give them a decided preference. But we are restrained by the consideration, that such a plan would involve the abandonment of almost all the present Establishments and Buildings connected with them (on some of which considerable sums have been lately expended) as well as of the endowments of Land annexed to them respectively; that several of the present Schools were actually founded in consequence of Donations or Bequests

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to the Society expressly appropriated to their support, and which we are therefore clearly of opinion ought not to be given up; that the erection of four great Schools on the plan alluded to would be attended with a great immediate expense; in addition to that of supporting the present Schools till they were completed; and we cannot but bear in mind, that the original object of the whole Institution of the Charter Schools was to afford the opportunity and advantage of Protestant education to as many districts as possible. We are therefore of opinion, that a considerable number of the present Schools should be retained, and that as well in retaining those as in suppressing others, regard should be had not only to the convenience of their situation for forming larger and more useful establishments, but also to the extent of their influence in encouraging and diffusing the Protestant Religion.

With respect to the Rules of the Society, they are several of them of long standing, and

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some of them inconsistent with the principles on which the Institution is now conducted. This inconsistency points out the necessity of a revision of these Rules, with a view to the omission of all such as are obsolete in practice; and we have recommended such revision to the Society accordingly.

WM. ARMAGH. (L.S.)
CHAS. DUBLIN. (L.S.)
GEO. HALL, Provost. (L.S.)
JAS. VERSCHOYLE, (L.S.)
Dean of St. Patrick's.
JAS. WHITELAW. (L.S.)
WM. DISNEY. (L.S.)
RD. L. EDGEWORTH. (L.S.)

Council Chamber,
Dublin Castle,
Dec. the 29th 1808.

A correct Copy,
John Corneille,
Sec. to the
Commissioners.

CHAP.

CHAPTER IV.

Fourteenth Report of the Commissioners of Education ....Letters of Messrs. Grattan, Edgeworth and Foster....Late Mr. Whitbread....Mr. Monck Mason on Education.

I shall insert the fourteenth report,* which gives the general results; and is followed by three most valuable letters written by Mr. Grattan, Mr. Edgeworth, and Mr. Foster. These letters shew the difference which will ever be discernible between *practical* knowledge and the finest theory; so far they are illustrative of the human mind. Mr. Grattan is a man of business, with an understanding of the first order, but his letter is far exceeded in utility by those of Mr. Edgeworth and Mr. Foster.

* For this very interesting Report, and the Letters of Messrs. Grattan, Edgeworth, and Foster, see the Appendix.

It must afford great consolation to all thinking men, to view these sentiments expressed by such superior men. It must be equally gratifying to see all parties availing themselves of the means of improvement afforded them; Roman Catholics as well as Protestants. In my mind, as much as I admire the senatorial qualities of Mr. Grattan, that gentleman's labours, as a Commissioner of the Board of Education, far outweigh them in intrinsic value. To subdue party, by ameliorating principles, is the best way of improving the condition of the country. Tranquil habits will soon take the place of those scenes of nightly outrage which disgrace it. A well educated peasantry will resist all the seductions of agitators and demagogues, who never venture to disclose to their deluded tools their ultimate purposes. For all those evils a competent education is the appropriate remedy.

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This is universally allowed, and generally called for. It finds its way into popular works, such as the book published this very year, for Cumming, Dublin, called "*The Traveller's New Guide through Ireland.*" Speaking of Wexford, the compiler says,

"It was evacuated by the King's forces on the 30th of May 1798, in consequence of the defeat of some detachments sent to reinforce the feeble garrison in the defiles of the adjacent mountains which were well known to the rebel leaders, an event that threw the loyal inhabitants into the deepest despondency and the utmost consternation, from the too well founded apprehensions of their subsequent miseries. They were tortured with every cruelty that the savage barbarity of an inebriated and ungovernable rabble could inflict, over whose actions their nominal commanders retained little or no control,

control, whenever their mandates militated against their deep rooted prejudices and bigoted animosity:—an awful warning to demagogues, whose vanity aspires to inculcate revolutionary maxims of equality, from the base and selfish motives of acquiring personal aggrandizement in the turbulence and tempest of insurrection. To detail all the horrid scenes which occurred, and to recount all the massacres committed during the short interval that this ill-fated town remained in the possession of those ferocious barbarians, utterly unworthy to be denominated Christians, is abhorrent to human feelings; suffice it summarily to state, that this fanatical rabble resolved on the 20th day of June, to make a general slaughter of all the Protestant prisoners then confined in the gaol of Wexford, which diabolical resolution was actually put in execution on the bridge, where ninety-seven unoffending victims

victims were sacrificed to the unrelenting animosity of religious fury : the mode of execution, as recorded in Musgrave's narrative of these atrocious cruelties, was to drag the devoted victims from the gaol, in lots consisting of from ten to twenty individuals together, preceded by a black flag, and strongly guarded to the place of execution, where two rebels selected for this shocking duty, immediately thrust two pikes into the victim's breast, while two others perforated him in the back, and with their united force, suspended him thus transpierced, writhing in all the agonies of torture, until death terminated his sufferings, when immediately the body was precipitated into the water. That such unrelenting animosity should thus steel the illiterate peasant's heart, not otherwise devoid of generosity and humanity, against his fellow creature, merely for a difference in the mode of religious

gious worship, must be solely attributed to the dangerous doctrine of exclusive salvation usurped by the church of Rome, which arrogates the monstrous prerogative of being the only organ of dispensing salvation to such Christians as remain within the pale of its communion. Such delusions may increase the influence, and exalt the spiritual dominion of the priesthood, but must extinguish every spark of mutual benevolence, tenderness, and kindness, in the breasts of their ignorant votaries. Such fatal antipathies can only be radically extirpated by establishing Protestant parochial-schools, calculated to enlighten the understanding of the rising generation: then the dispersion of bibles and testaments (it is most devoutly to be hoped) will create a charitable revolution in the disposition of the populace, and our national character will no longer become stained with these tragical excesses

periodically

periodically committed when the torch of religious fury and civil discord is kindled to inflame the passions of a turbulent and ungovernable mob; nor will sensibility be wounded by acrimonious recriminations sarcastically uttered in the reviling expressions and opprobrious exclamations of *heretic* and *papist*, but all denominations of Christians, thus regenerated by the true spirit of the gospel dispensations, will cherish universal charity, benevolence, and concord. Such an experiment hath been successfully made on the Scottish peasantry, and their present peaceful demeanour and stedfast loyalty have fully repaid the pains taken to civilize and reclaim them."

In these sentiments I most heartily concur. Most certainly the conduct of the peasantry of Scotland, peculiarly exemplary, is entirely to be ascribed to the exuberance with which

which the blessings of education are showered upon the bulk of the people.

Can any one doubt but that the people in all countries follow the tone, and instructions, which they receive under the sanction, the countenance, or the authority of the government under which they live? Is it not proved in a variety of instances? Are we not all more or less acquainted with the history of the Romans; how the energy and zeal of her government gave animation and industry to her people, so as to make them the envy, the terror, and the admiration of surrounding and subdued nations? And has not the effect of a bad administration, always characterized by inattention to the education of the commonality, debased the character of the same people? This has been proved in many instances, but more particularly in the following case, which I shall here recite.

A petition from certain prisoners confined in Dartmoor prison was sent to the late Mr. Whitbread, complaining, among other grievances, that the sick were neglected. A commission, composed of Lieutenant-General Stephens, Rear-Admiral Martin, and Mr. Hawker, a justice of the peace, was in consequence deputed to inquire into the reality of the alleged grievances. The petition was disowned instantly by the body of the prisoners, amounting then to eight thousand, and the three individuals who had signed it were ashamed and repentant, and denied that they had any cause of complaint.

We observed, says the Report, in passing through the three first prisons, that the men had a very striking appearance of good health, and, with the exception of the fourth, which contains the prisoners who call themselves *Romans*, that their health

was

was universally good,—these persons, however, continues the Report, to the amount of some hundreds, exhibited a detestable and shocking scene of depravity.

These wretches, who are headed by a person stiling himself "General of the Romans," are thus described,—regardless of every principle of religion, they absolutely forfeit all claim to be considered as human beings; they go mostly nearly *naked*, some of them *entirely* so, having gambled away their clothes. Some have been *starved to death*, their provisions being lost by gambling; a practice which has been discovered to extend even to their provisions for months to come, by anticipation; and the countenances of many whom we saw denoted a degree of wretchedness that exceeds all description.

It appears that even an experiment of placing armed soldiers, to compel them to

eat

eat their provisions, had been resorted to; but even this expedient proved useless with a people as ferocious as they were barbarous.

I simply make these observations to shew what the Romans *were*, and what they *are*, owing to the culpable inattention of their government. May not the same cause, operating to a certain degree, influence the situation of Ireland?

In making observations relative to Ireland, having already expressed my warm approbation of certain measures, I feel such an interest in the fate of that country, that I must submit entirely to the liberality and indulgence of my readers. It is not for a superficial observer, bred to a military profession, to make suggestions that can hope to fix the public good sense. I presume not to lead, or to instruct;—my object is merely to point to a few of the numerous

anomalies that appear on the surface of society in Ireland. The superior beauties of nature, visible in the country, must strike every one; to a person circumstanced as I am, they are not less striking, and they are more dear; and I am confident, that the people of England will feel an interest in a country with whose fate so much of their own happiness and prosperity is connected.

I beg leave to quote a passage from Mr. Monck Mason's able pamphlet on Education,* respecting the increasing knowledge of the English tongue in Ireland. That gentleman says,

"It

* "Address to the Nobility and Gentry, upon the "Necessity of using every Exertion at the Present, to "promote the Education of the Poor of Ireland. By "Henry J. M. Mason, Esq. Barrister at Law. Price "equal to 4s. English currency. The Profits to be "appplied to assist in the Erection of a School-house: "Dublin, 1815."

"It is an interesting instance of the manner in which human causes produce effects the most directly opposite to those which may, with the greatest confidence, be rationally expected, that the printing of Gælic, and Welsh, and Irish books, in the English character, has greatly spread the knowledge of the English language. This happens through the following simple process: a knowledge of letters being once acquired, the impulse of the mind becomes irresistible to increase its stock of information; and its desire for nourishment gains strength in proportion to the difficulty of procuring it. The peasant, therefore, having scarcely any books which are printed both in the native language and intelligible character, acquires a knowledge of the English tongue to supply his wants: in this indeed he, in general, succeeds with wonderful facility. Such is the unexpected result which has been experienced; although the theory of the most thinking men of our age supposed, that, by such a measure, "we should continue to add to the

" imaginary political division *supposed* to exist " in religion, a real political division formed on " the diversity of language."

" The revival of the Irish as the oral language of the country, is now morally impossible, and the knowledge of the English is become daily more universal. Whoever is conversant in the business of the assizes must have observed, in some counties, that, while most of the old men require the assistance of interpreters in conveying their testimony, there is scarcely a boy but can give his evidence in English. I have myself [says Mr. Mason] witnessed the truth of this fact, upon the Leinster Circuit—an enlightened judge, to whom I once made the observation, has vouched for its application to other parts of the country.

" In the returns from the parishes of Adamstown and Dungiven, pages 5 and 330, in the first volume of the Ecclesiastical Survey, the increasing desire for education in counties very remote from each other, to wit, Wexford and Derry,

Derry, is attributed to one among other causes, which is an extremely "curious instance of important effects from undesigned causes." The general circulation of paper currency has tended, as they assert, to promote a more ardent zeal for education among the poor—of consequence, to extend the knowledge of the language in which the bank notes are written.

The latter of these returns, by the Rev. Alexander Ross, rector of Dungiven, contains many interesting remarks upon the state of the peasantry; and several strong elucidations, particularly in pages 305, 311, 314, of the truth of my assertions throughout this address.

"But to return: it is now therefore become a prudent policy, rather to encourage the study of the Irish tongue in our University, than to continue any existing prohibition of its acquirement: already, in the course of time, has the power of reading the more ancient and abbreviated manuscripts been irrevocably lost; and the united practical and grammatical knowledge

of our difficult and corrupted, but beautiful and copious, native language is scarcely to be found, combined with a proficiency in the classic tongues of Greece and of Rome.

" There is much upon this subject in a very ingenious tract written by the present Earl of Rosse; it comments upon the will of the late renowned senator, Henry Flood, Esq. by which a liberal endowment was devised for a professor of the Irish language in our University. Being against the law, the devise was void: but the remarks of Lord Rosse (who skims over the surface of our antiquarian history with graceful ease), combined with this well known increasing total ignorance of the Irish language, prove it to be an obvious measure of literary wisdom, to attempt to preserve in our academy a remnant thereof, as well as, at any expense, to secure therein the shattered fragments of our ancient manuscripts."

CHAPTER V.

Land at Dublin....Bulls....Remarks on the Condition of the Poor....Distress of Soldiers' Families left on Shore....Remedy pointed out....Bad Provision for the Poor of Ireland.

HAVING landed in Dublin, I found the town much improved in buildings, and in wide streets, far beyond my conception. On approaching the town you pass through a vile, filthy and disgraceful looking village called Ring's End.* This village must

 make

* The witty Lord Townshend, crossing St. George's Channel, on making the coast of Ireland, demanded the name of an eminence which he saw on shore? "The North Bull, my lord."—"So," said he, "Bull the first."—On reaching Ring's End, he again had recourse

make a deep impression on a stranger, certainly giving all the force and all the charm of contrast to the grandeur and appearance of the interior of the town.

On entering Dublin, you are forcibly struck by the scandalous mendicity, the disgraceful mixture of so much misery contrasted with such magnificence. If the state be parental it should have the feelings of a parent, and should be touched by the prevailing poverty of the people; a remedy should be provided for their general penury; and that were best done by an excitement to industry. If there be workhouses, why are they not filled with proper inhabitants? Why are the streets pestered with common beggars?

course to his Cicerone.—" Ring's-End, my lord."—" O, Bull the second."—I understand that there is an excellent plan to remedy the defect complained of, by continuing the road along the quays.

beggars? If the workhouses be not sufficiently numerous, why is not their number increased? Why is not the police seen in a vigorous shape, exerting itself to prevent mendicancy from being followed as a trade? Why should the body of the community be exposed to the importunities of distress, and laid under heavy and disgraceful contributions?

Much of this, however, is owing to the embarkation of regiments. You will see each regiment accompanied to the shore, such is the custom of the country, with nearly as many women as men; and these, with large families of children, follow the regiments to the very place of embarkation, where the boat leaves them to lament and bewail their destitute situation. Cut off and discarded by their parents for marrying a soldier, they know not where to seek shelter; in forlorn and piteous wretchedness they

proceed

proceed to the towns, where from necessity they are forced to look for casual assistance from the feelings of the benevolent. But the vast and increasing burthen of the poor, arising from this and from other circumstances combined, becomes at last too irksome for the benevolent to endure; they are finally wearied out and refuse to encounter the evils which they cannot remove. This evil is caused by England almost solely, for these regiments embark chiefly on her account. It has the appearance as if the poor in Ireland were totally discarded from the care of the state, and left in such a condition as to perpetuate the evil of poverty, and to extend it, so as to make disgust a prevailing sensation in the Irish metropolis.

Profligacy and despair are, in Dublin, associated under the eye of the government, and rags haunt almost every house and harass every passenger. If there be laws

to

to relieve society from such oppressive evils, why are they not enforced? The poor's rates in England amount, I believe, to about one-fifth of the landed property, or more than the entire revenue of Prussia. I shall here mention the proportion of poor's rates paid by an individual of my acquaintance residing near Holywell, who pays an annual rent of £160. He pays nine rates in the year, and each rate is £7. 9s. 6d.: therefore, in addition to his rent of £160 per annum, he pays the sum of £67. 5s. 6d.; and I conceive that, admitting the variation which there is in different parts of England and Wales, more or less burthened with poor, this gentleman's payment is not far from the usual proportion.

There seems two or three evils with regard to the condition of the Irish poor, as yet altogether without an appropriate remedy; in particular this abandonment of them,

for

for so I venture to call it. There is no power in Ireland to remove the poor to a parish, or a place bound to maintain them. To swell the number of inmates in the workhouses and houses of industry belonging to the cities and large towns, is to overburthen them with the indigency of the whole country. The Union can never be effectually accomplished, as far as the poor of Ireland are concerned, till an uniformity of treatment shall prevail, and the poor laws shall be equally administered in both. The money raised for the relief and maintenance of the poor in England and Ireland, depends upon no principle common to both countries. In the former, it is determined by a rate, regulated by the exigency of the case, and levied upon all persons in proportion to their means. The opulent pay largely, the less wealthy pay a smaller quota. In the latter, there are no

poor's

poor's rates, but the contributions of the charitable and humane are collected in a poor's box, which is handed round the church on a Sunday. There is no other gauge than feeling. The hand contributes as the heart prompts. They who most pity the poor, contribute most liberally. But the same box which receives the ample donation of the charitable, conceals the niggardliness of the selfish. This may be styled a tax on humanity, and a bounty on meanness. The English mode seems to me the more eligible of the two. Nothing can be more fairly or equitably done. The householders of any parish meet in vestry, public notice having been given in the church beforehand, commonly the Sunday preceding the day fixed for making a rate. An assessment takes place according to the rental of each man's house or estate. The rents are well known. All the good men who

who assist at the making of a rate, are neighbours to each other. Mistakes can hardly occur. If, however, any should arise, a day of appeal is fixed, and the appellants urge their pleas for relief and mitigation of overcharges, in the presence of those who made the rate, and before two magistrates; with whose decision, should either the parishioners or the appellants be dissatisfied, the matter is submitted to the determination of the quarter sessions. Nor is even this final, for (so sacred a cincture does the law throw round the property of Englishmen) the Court of King's Bench exercises a control over all.

I think I can here very safely appeal to the good sense of my countrymen, whether this mode of proceeding is not infinitely preferable to that which prevails in Ireland. I am aware that Scotland is without its poor's rates. The habits of the Scotch,

Scotch, however, their frugality and parsimony, together with a feeling of pride which, but in extreme cases, will not stoop to receive public alms, deprive the system of most of its *practical* evils. But to return; scenes of most revolting distress would be prevented, could some prompt means be devised of conveying the wives and families of soldiers from the places where the regiments to which they belong, embark for England, or on foreign service. A regiment is marched to Cork from Londonderry; or from Kerry, Mayo or Limerick to Dublin, accumulating a prodigious train of wives, children, and camp followers of all descriptions on its route, who in the moment of embarkation, become victims to distress in all its horrid variety of forms. Here again I would prefer a plea in behalf of the wives and families of thousands of my brave countrymen,

countrymen, by whose side I have fought, and whose privations and dangers I have shared, in many hard-contested fields, and many a toilsome march, on distant shores. Yes, my gallant countrymen! full well I know your value. Well I am aware of the steady support your country has in your courage and all the glorious qualities of soldiers. Would that I could make my voice heard by your country's legislature, and that some effectual remedy could be found for the distresses of them who are most dear to you!—When any regiment embarks from England, the chief magistrate of the port or place of embarkation has a power of granting travelling passes to such wives and families of the men as are left behind. By this means they are enabled to regain their original places of abode and are supported by contributions from all the intermediate parishes. Some such

such method should be adopted in Ireland, with some local modifications; what, and how far they should extend, I will not presume to say, but any member of either House of Parliament who should devise a suitable plan, would prove himself at once a soldier's friend, and a friend of humanity and his country.

CHAPTER VI.

Irish Poor in England....Forced Breach of the Law ....Appeal to the Legislature.

I AM now about to state a circumstance of still greater consequence affecting the Irish poor and their families *resident in England.* By far the greater part of the Irish who land on the shores of England, are of that description of people who have no chance of gaining a parochial settlement there. They are chiefly employed in laborious occupations, in tempering mortar, and carrying materials to the bricklayers. Multitudes of them assist the farmers in cutting down and stowing the hay, and afterwards the corn-harvest. Tempted by the wages given them, they frequently remain

main in England after harvest is over, and earn money by excavating canals, or whatever they can find to do. They are presently joined by their wives and children; their families continue to increase, and they contrive to live, at least, as well as in their native country, till their families grow too large to be supported by the industry of one individual; or till sickness or mutilation of limb, or even death itself, deprives their wives and children of the means of subsistence. And now commences a scene of misery, indeed. After struggling with distress a short time, and experiencing the unavailing bounty of worthy souls like themselves, people who have nothing superfluous to bestow, they either betake themselves to the resources which mendicity offers to paupers, and practice the artifices which it prompts; or encounter the *tender* mercies of overseers and beadles of parishes, who

earn the praise of their fellows, by the dexterity with which they can ward off the demands of poverty, and baffle the importunate claims of distress. The poor of this class are surprisingly numerous. The Irish poor increase the burthens of those parishes in London, particularly, which are already most loaded of all others, by those who have a direct claim upon them, such as are born, or legally settled within them. The poor natives of Ireland of course reside in the out-parishes, or those abounding with houses divided into tenements, suited for the residence of the lowest of the working classes. St. Giles's seems their principal abode, and next to that, probably Whitechapel. Numbers find employment in the extensive potatoe-fields about Bow, Bromley, and the neighbourhood of Stratford and West Ham. The labourers, *whilst able to work*, are welcome to the farmers (one

(one of whom has erected cottages on purpose to receive them, this colony is called *Little Dublin*); but when once they are unable to take the field, a speedy interference of the magistrate in their behalf becomes necessary, and he can only procure for them the pittance paid to *casual* poor. The rent which they pay for their cottages, is not sufficient to gain a *settlement* for them in the parish. Some parishes pay immense sums, even on this lowest scale of relief, to their poor.

I shall try the faith of my readers, I believe; but I have no reason to question the fact, which appeared uncontradicted in various public prints during August 1815, on the authority of one of the parish officers of St. Giles's, who stated to the *mendicity committee* of the House of Commons, that of £32,000 raised within that parish for the

relief of the poor, £20,000 goes to supply the necessities of the *lower Irish!*

Let me now follow the Irish pauper through his melancholy progress. His health injured, his strength impaired, his wife and children clamorous around him, the pension paid to *casual* poor, disproportioned to his wants; what is he to do? An English labourer presently gains competent relief;—the overseers of the parish to which he becomes chargeable, examine him as to his settlement on oath; on this examination is grounded an order of removal, signed by two magistrates; and he is forthwith carried, however great the distance may be, he and all his, many or few, and by the beadle formally delivered to the officers of the parish where his settlement is adjudged to be; here he is supplied with physic, food, and all things necessary for his comfort.

But

But how goes it with the poor Irishman, under similar circumstances? There is no *removal for him provided by law!* The country which has all the benefit derivable from his health, strength, and the prime of his days, treats him as an *alien* in the decline of his years, or when sickness, or evil accidents assail him; and not only himself, but his family, whom the law, the boasted law of England, dooms to share his lot. Whatever friends he may have, or relations, in his native land, the law will not help him forward on his way to avail himself of their kindness, till he has *committed a breach of the law.* This is a monstrous anomaly in legislation. The Irish pauper must be *guilty of an act of vagrancy,* such as *sleeping in the open air,* without any lodging, or begging, &c. specified in the vagrant act, before he can be entitled as a culprit, to the exalted misery of the

pass-cart, or a free passage to Ireland, by virtue of a warrant, and an examination as to settlement or birth. Ships bound for Ireland, sailing from the ports of Liverpool, Bristol, &c. are compellable, according to their tonnage, to receive on board, and to land in that island, a certain number of vagrants, who are conveyed to the port, from hundred to hundred, at the charge of each successive district, having first suffered an *imprisonment of seven days*, in the county or place where they committed the act of vagrancy. This is a process unknown to the generality;—and probably unsuspected by the humane. Perhaps a greater outrage on humanity, under the forms of law, does not exist. I conjure the members of either House of Parliament to take the whole affair into consideration. Let them leave all bickerings about Catholics and Orangemen, and study to ameliorate

rate the condition of the Irish pauper, to facilitate his journey and voyage to the land that gave him birth, to administer to his necessities, without branding him with the disgraceful and heart-breaking appellations of a *convicted rogue and vagabond*; without driving him to the commission of crime; or compelling him to take his sad departure, a prey to infirmities, from the miseries of a prison, in a jolting pass-cart amongst "short and musty straw."--Such amelioration would be an act of religion—if philanthropy (Christians call it charity) be a religious duty. If the legislature shall take such pains about African slaves; if they shall ring the abolition of the slave trade in the ears of all Europe, I claim their attention to the wants and miseries of men of their own colour, whose industry has been as exemplary as their sufferings are deep. I beg the attention of gentlemen to the facts which I have detailed;

ed; in particular I call upon Mr. Peel and Mr. Grattan; they will thus secure the gratitude of millions, and the popularity of such a good deed will increase their influence and augment their power to do still "greater works than these."

Below * I subjoin copies of the warrant and the examination I have mentioned above.

* "*To the Contractor for removing Vagrants in the County of Middlesex; and also to all Constables and other Officers whom it may concern, to receive and convey; and to all Constables and other Officers of the Peace, whom it may concern to receive and obey.*

"*Middlesex to Wit.*—Whereas on the day of one thousand eight hundred and was apprehended in the parish of in the county of Middlesex, wandering

And whereas the said hath been by me one of His Majesty's justices of the peace in and for the said county of Middlesex, examined, convicted, and adjudged to be a *rogue* and *vagabond*, and hath in consequence

above. A magistrate for Middlesex, whose sentiments agree with mine on the subject, and

sequence of such conviction, been committed to and confined in the House of Correction for the said county of Middlesex, for the space of *seven days* pursuant to the statutes in that case made and provided. And whereas upon examination of the said taken before me upon oath (which examination is hereunto annexed) it doth appear that h legal settlement is in that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland.

" These are therefore to require you the said contractor, to convey the said to the town of in the county of that being the first town in the next precinct through which he ought to pass in the direct way to the said part of the United Kingdom called Ireland, to which he is to be sent, and to deliver h to the constable or other officer of such first town in such next precinct, together with this pass, and the duplicate of the examination of the said taking his receipt for the same; and the said is to be thence conveyed on in like manner, until he shall arrive in the county of , and the constable or other officer to whom he

and who declares that his heart bleeds at being compelled to do his duty, kindly supplied me with the blank instruments.

But

he shall be delivered in the said county of is hereby required to apply to some justice of the peace, in and for the said county, for a warrant to the master of any ship or vessel bound for that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland, that shall be in the said county, to take on board the said ship or vessel, the said and convey h to such place in the said part of the United Kingdom called Ireland, as such ship or vessel shall be bound.

" Given under my hand and seal, this Day of in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and

---

" *Middlesex, to wit.*—The examination of a *rogue* and *vagabond*, apprehended by in the parish of in the said county, brought before me, one of His Majesty's justices of the peace for the county aforesaid, taken this day of in the year of our Lord who on oath saith that he was born in the parish of in the county of

But we have not yet seen the last of the Irish pauper. When landed in Ireland there is no ulterior proceeding. That country, as I observed in the last Chapter, knows nothing, practically, of settlements entitling the poor to parochial relief. The wretched victim of a diversity of laws in the same empire (which laws may fairly be called *unequal*, in every sense of the word,) is turned out upon the shore, whence if he proceeds inland he must turn mendicant anew, and fare as well as he can,—or he may scratch himself a "dishonourable grave" in the sand. The wives and families

of in that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland, and that he hath not to the best of h knowledge and belief, done any act since that time, whereby to gain a subsequent legal settlement.

"Taken and sworn before me the day and year above written."

lies of soldiers embarked on service, above spoken of, are not in a more destitute condition; only in the instance of the pauper, now to be deemed a convicted vagabond; he himself is a fellow sufferer with his family, and a helpless witness of their distresses. No; I can never hold the UNION to be complete, till an intercommunity of political rights shall take place; till all the poor in the United Kingdom shall be put on a level; and till in Ireland a system of poor laws shall be adopted, formed on the basis of Queen Elizabeth's wise enactments, improved by the accession of practical knowledge gained in the course of more than two hundred years.

In suggesting any improvement in the English poor laws, I attempt it with deference. These suggestions arose out of conversations I have had with those who are competent to judge, and I have recollected the

the particulars when my informants least suspected it, over the fumes of tobacco.

As to the dry detail of Parliamentary grants, and various calculations, which may be found in this work, I have had recourse to those whose labours have been particularly directed to studies of that kind; and I am in hopes these calculations and Parliamentary grants may be found correct.

CHAPTER VII.

Suggestion for the Improvement of the English Poor-Laws....Arts of Peace....Questions prescribed by Act of Parliament.

WHILST I have spoken generally of the poor laws, and their comparative excellence in England, with reference to fixed rates, parochial settlements, and orders of removal, it appeared that a most material and beneficial improvement might easily be made in it—in *one particular*, at least. A great saving would take place, by altering the necessity for removals. As the law now stands, two paupers becoming chargeable, one at Berwick upon Tweed, having a settlement in Cornwall, and another at the Land's End, having his parochial settlement at Berwick, must both be removed, and

and may jostle each other midway between their remote destinations, at a heavy expense, not to speak of appeals to sessions, &c.—In such a case would it not be best for each to *remain where he is?* the place where he resides has had the benefit of his labour, and now that he is fallen into decay —why, "where the tree falls there let it lie." This is the rationale of my plan, which I call *A Suggestion for the Improvement of the Poor-Laws.*

If the system of the poor-laws could be so amended as to do away the necessity for removals, to diminish litigation, and, consequently, to lessen the expenditure of parochial money; almost every thing were effectuated which it may be reckoned expedient, at one effort, to attempt.

To accomplish these desirable ends,

1. Let the present law of settlement and removal be abolished.

2. Let that be deemed the parish, or the settlement, of each poor person, wherein he shall happen to reside at the time when disease or decay shall overtake him.

It is to be presumed, that the parish wherein any poor man shall reside has the *benefit of his labour*; and therefore, that place which is *enriched* by the *labourer*, should provide for the *pauper*.

One exception, in the metropolis, and most large towns, may be admitted. House rent is so high, in some parts of the town, that the labourers and manufacturers are obliged to live in the out-parishes:—in such instances, let the parish where the employer shall reside, support, in the hour of distress, the employed.

Two questions only will be necessary, when a poor man shall ask relief;—"where "do you live?" "for whom do you work?" —Let the parish in which he may at that time

time reside, supply his wants, and let the parish where his employer may reside, reimburse the expenses incurred.

An end will thus be put to removals, in all cases; the simplicity of the plan will nearly supersede litigation, (which arises chiefly out of the present involved law of settlements,) and a prodigious saving will be made of parochial money.

The poor man (and let humanity, as well as economy, be looked to) will thus be happily consulted for, and his wants readily relieved. He will be no longer exposed to the question ordinary and extraordinary, of examination, as it is called, and re-examination; where he must give an account, under the imperfections of a memory impaired by sickness, or weakened by old age, of his own life, and perhaps of his father's life; and, in many instances, must swear to what he has heard, and not

merely to what he knows to be matter of fact. He will be spared a fatiguing journey; whilst the most inexperienced churchwarden may understand, and the most thorough-paced beadle shall not explain away, his right to due immediate relief.

Let the punishment of vagrancy be imprisonment and hard labour.

In all other cases, let the law stand as it does at present.—Let all parishes enjoy their local acts of parliament; the execution of which, habitude has made familiar to them;—and let no one suppose that the plan here suggested is a mere innovation; it only goes, generally speaking, to put all paupers on the same footing, and to gain them more prompt relief, at a reduction of incidental expenses, particularly those of litigation..

There can be no need to say more on this subject. I trust that my plan is sufficiently perspicuous,

perspicuous, and I have only to hope that it may meet with attention from some man of business, who may bring the matter before parliament. It is an easy matter to find fault with things as they are at present constituted and administered. It were an easy matter to declaim upon faults and imperfections, but I am not satisfied with melancholy details of this kind, without trying to reduce the number and lighten the pressure of evils. If I can present a feasible—a practical—remedy, and more still if I should prevail upon the legislature to adopt it, the purpose will be answered, and I shall be most happy.

I offer my sentiments the more freely at this present time (Sept. 1815), because by an act of parliament passed during the last sessions, many points, expressed or alluded to above, will pass under the eye of the legislature as soon as parliament shall

re-assemble. I hope that the returns which will be made, will not *lie upon* the table, till they shall be covered with dust and swept away like rubbish, but that early and effectual notice will be taken of the mass of important documents which may be produced. The termination of twenty-five years of war, will enable us to turn our attention to the arts of peace. We have seen Great Britain arrive at an unexampled pitch of naval glory. Not an enemy remained to combat with. Our Howes, Duncans, and Nelsons surpassed in their achievements our most sanguine expectations. The splendour of the British flag dazzled our eyes. I have seen sometimes a brilliant fire-work, with all its devices in motion, wheels, trees, and fountains of fire,—on a sudden it has appeared to be extinguished, its wheels have stopped, its trees have died, and its fountains have ceased

ceased to flow—but in a moment after an explosion like a cannon—it has resumed its terrible beauties, and glowed with renewed fires, and in the midst of rays of light shooting in all directions, we have hailed with shouts of admiration a figure of Britannia seated on a rock with her spear and shield and her helmet garnished with laurels. When the hostile fleets were destroyed the united people of the sister islands felt as if they had attained the summit of renown, The British cannon were just then heard on the Continent; our soldiers emulated our tars, and proved themselves as irresistible in the field as their brethren had been on the waves. The battle of Waterloo gave the *coup de grâce* to the enemy.—Now that his plans are rendered abortive, and he is humbled in the eyes of the universe, a new career of renown awaits us at Rome, and I trust we shall distinguish ourselves by

the cultivation of all that can comfort and all that can ornament civil life. Parliament, on the hopes of a lasting peace which there was reason to expect last year, began to lay the foundation of many great national undertakings. I hope that we shall have leisure now to complete them. They will form, " in the mind's eye," a monument more glorious and more durable than the proudest triumphal arch, or the loftiest column.—But to return. The act of parliament I have alluded to, embraces two points—the procuring returns relative to the expence and maintenance of the Poor in England—and also relative to the Highways. There are certain questions proposed to each parish, &c. to be answered in writing; and I shall here print them, reserving the other class of questions till by and by. I think they will procure an *exposé*, which will forward my suggestion above.

Questions,

Questions, to which written answers are to be returned by the overseer of every parish, township, or place, in which rates are separately and distinctly made for the relief of the poor :—

1. What is the name and description of your parish or place? And to the repair of what parish church do the inhabitants contribute out of the rates?

2. What was the total amount of money raised within the several years ending Easter 1813, Easter 1814, and the 25th day of March 1815, by poor's-rate, and any other rate or rates?

3. What was the total amount of money expended in those years respectively, for the maintenance and relief of the poor?

4. What was the total amount of money expended in those years respectively, *in suits of law, removal of paupers,* and *expences of overseers or other officers employed therein?*

5. What was the total amount of money expended on militia charges, distinguishing expenditure for the maintenance of the wives and children

children of any militia men, from any other militia charges?

6. What was the total amount of money expended in those years respectively, for all other purposes except those expressed in the two last questions, including herein any church rate, county rate,* highway rate, &c. &c.?

7. What was the total amount of money expended in those years respectively?

8. What was the number of persons relieved from the poor's-rate permanently, throughout the several years; distinguishing persons so relieved out of any house of industry or work-house, and persons so relieved in the house, but not including any children whose parents have been permanently relieved out of the house?

9. What was the number of parishioners relieved occasionally in the several years respectively?

10. What is the number of members in friendly societies, which hold their usual meetings in your

* This is paid out of the poor's rate.

your parish or place, including members not belonging to your parish or place, as well as those belonging to it?

11. What is the average annual amount or produce of charitable donations (whether arising from land or money) which have been given by deed or will for the benefit of poor persons within your parish, township, or place, and which are managed or distributed by the minister, churchwardens, and overseers, or by any of them; distinguishing such donations as are applicable to the maintenance of parish schools?

12. Is there any hospital, almshouse, school, or other permanent charitable foundation within your parish, township, or place, which is not under the management and controul of the minister, churchwardens, and overseers, or any of them?

13. In case it should be requisite to ask any explanation of your answer to any of the above questions, in what manner should a letter of inquiry

inquiry be directed to you from the Secretary of State's office?

14. Are there any matters which you think it necessary to remark, in explanation of your answers to any of the preceding questions?

Questions, to which written answers are to be returned by the surveyor of the highways of every parish, township, or district in England and Wales:—

1. What is the estimated extent of public highways or roads used for wheel carriages, within your parish or district, computing the aggregate length of such highways in statute miles of one thousand seven hundred and sixty yards to a mile; distinguishing paved streets and turnpikes (if any) from all other such highways or roads?

2. What was the estimated value of labour performed in kind, for repairing the highways, within your parish or district, in each of the years ending in October one thousand eight hundred

hundred and twelve, one thousand eight hundred and thirteen, and one thousand eight hundred and fourteen?

3. What was the amount of money paid as a composition for labour on the highways, during those years respectively?

4. What was the amount of rates (if any) levied for the repair of the highways, in those years respectively?

5. What was the amount of money expended in law and other expences relative to the highways, exclusive of repairs occasioned by presentments, in those years respectively?

6. What was the total value of labour and amount of money expended in those years respectively?

7. Are there any matters which you think it necessary to remand, in explanation of your answers to any of the preceding questions?

CHAP-

CHAPTER VIII.

Parliamentary Grants for various Irish Services in 1815....Remarks.

It is a consolation to acknowledge the attention paid by the legislature, certainly, on the recommendation of the Government of Ireland, at one effort and by a single Act of Parliament passed this very year, bearing date 11th July 1815. Without any private information on the subject, I have, with the aid of those I have mentioned, selected, from the general account of grants such objects as may be reckoned *purely Irish*, and upon these I shall request the reader's permission to make two or three observations. I have endeavoured, I say, to make such a selection, but it is too obvious

obvious that Parliament has not used very correct classification; there is oftentimes a strange recurrence of charges, and a repetition of grants—thus—" for the Commis-" sariat in Ireland"—" to complete the " charge of the Commissariat in Ireland"—" for the Commissariat Department in " Ireland;"—and again, " for the Pension-" ers of Chelsea and Kilmainham Hospi-" tals"—" to complete the charge of the " Pensioners of Chelsea and Kilmainham " Hospitals." These things may be very clear, and the reason for this arrangement may be equally evident to the Committee Clerks of the House of Commons; but to the ordinary understandings of the uninitiated, they are somewhat odd. I have assumed for my guidance one point, whether on good grounds or no, I will not say;—some of the grants are in *sterling money*, and some are in *Irish currency*,—whilst the former

former may possibly refer to matters of a mixt and general nature, I suppose that the latter are confined to things purely *Irish*. I shall first extract the former in their order.

	£	s.	d.
For the Pensioners in Chelsea and Kilmainham Hospitals .	427,000	—	—
For the Commissariat in Ireland	100,000	—	—.
For the Barrack Department in Ireland	200,000	—	—
To complete the charge for the Pensioners of Chelsea and Kilmainham Hospitals. .	317,234	17	4
To complete the charge of the Commissariat in Ireland .	189,581	8	—
For the Barrack Department in Ireland	13,322	14	4
For the Commissariat Department in Ireland . . .	47,002	0	6
For the Depot Barracks at Cork	3,323	—	—

(*N.B. This is to be estimated in* IRISH CURRENCY; *it stands among the* STERLING *grants.*)

	£	s.	d.
For the office of Ordnance in Ireland for 1815 . . .	332,147	2	—
For the Ordnance in Ireland not provided for in 1814 .	43,673	16	10
(Here a reason is assigned, and a good one, for a second grant.)			
For retired Officers in the Irish Artillery, and Widow's Pensions	12,902	13	5
For retired civil Officers in Ireland	3,174	16	3
For Protestant Dissenting Ministers in Ireland . .	753	12	6
(There is another charge below for non-conforming, and another for Seceding Ministers of a certain description,— both in Irish Currency.)			

The Charges following (with one exception) are all in Irish currency. One Shilling, English, passes for thirteen pence, and a guinea for twenty-two shillings and eight pence.

	£	s.	d.
To several Public Officers in Ireland, a remuneration for extraordinary trouble in 1815	1,250	—	—
For the Board of Works in Ireland	36,505	12	4
For printing and stationary in the Secretaries' Offices, and Riding charges of Deputy Pursuivants, &c. . . .	24,783	14	5
For Proclamations in the Dublin Gazette, &c. . .	10,500	—	—
Law Expenses in Ireland .	25,000	—	—
Apprehending Public Offenders in Ireland	2,500	—	—
For Pratique in the Port of Dublin	1,047	10	2
For Non-conforming Ministers in Ireland	9,532	19	11
For Seceding Ministers from the Synod of Ulster . .	3,951	—	—
For the Lottery Officers, Ireland	2,142	—	—

For

	£	s.	d.
For Howth Harbour . . .	50,000	—	—
For printing the Statutes in Ireland	3,726	5	—
For an Asylum Harbour in the Bay of Dublin, eastward of Dunleary Pier . . .	5,000	—	—
Treasury incidental Expenses, Ireland	1,500	—	—
The Linen and Hempden Manufactures	21,600	—	—
Building of Churches and purchasing Glebes . . .	10,000	—	—
Commissioners of first Fruits .	50,000	—	—
Commissioners of Streets, Dublin	19,180	—	—
Allowance to Chairman of the Board of inland Navigation	300	—	—
For liquidating the Debt of the Navigation Company . .	50,000	—	—
For improving the Royal Canal	20,000	—	—
For the Commissioners for examining Claims of Creditors			

	£	s.	d.
of the late Royal Canal Company	1,800	—	—
N.B. This in British Currency.			
For the Dublin Society . .	10,000	—	—
For the Farming Society of Ireland	5,000	—	—
For the Foundling Hospital of Dublin	30,225	—	—
For the House of Industry of ditto	44,116	—	—
For the Hibernian Society .	9,543	—	—
For the Hibernian Marine Society	2,945	—	—
For the Female Orphan-House, Dublin	3,447	—	—
For the Westmorland Lock Hospital	9,020	—	—
For the Lying-in-Hospital .	3,151	—	—
For Sir Patrick Dunn's Hospital	1,525	—	—
For Dr. Stevens' Hospital .	1,598	—	—
For the Fever Hospital . .	5,000	—	—

For

	£	s.	d.
For the Association incorporated for discountenancing Vice, and promoting the knowledge and practice of the Christian Religion .	4,360	—	—
For the Cork Institution . .	2,500	—	—
For the Green Coat Hospital, Cork	249	—	—
For the Belfast Institution .	1,500	—	—
For the Protestant Charter Schools	41,539	—	—
For the Catholic Seminary in Ireland	9,673	—	—
To the Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests, in Ireland . .	600	—	—
For erecting a Seminary for promoting the Education of the Poor in Ireland, particularly a Model School Seminary, for training School-masters	6,980	—	

I cannot but recognize and respect the impartial eye with which the government and parliament regard all classes of people in Ireland. Although one church has the preeminence, and the Protestant ascendancy is carefully maintained, the Roman Catholic Church receives the bounty of the country, nor are the Non-conformists excluded, nor even the Seceders themselves. Wherever assistance seems necessary, there it is liberally supplied. Societies for the improvement of science, and the discountenancing of vice; hospitals for the reception of infants, and the retreat of the aged, and the cure of the diseased; the building of churches and the construction of harbours, and widening the streets of the metropolis; the linen manufacture, and the inland navigation, are all attended to, and all have a place in this noble monument of national bounty. Nor does this act contain a record of every beneficiary

neficiary parliamentary grant. Many great points of national concern are cherished in specific acts of parliament, such as the draining of bogs, and the formation of roads, and the building of bridges. Many stupendous improvements which have Ireland for their ultimate object, are projected in England, Wales, and Scotland. The roads and bridges passing through the principality; across the dangerous straits of Menai, and to Holyhead, are planned upon a scale that would have done honour to the antient Romans in the zenith of their power, nor are those inferior which facilitate the communication with Ireland by the north of England and Port Patrick in Scotland. Ireland might be one of the happiest countries in the world. There is none in which there are fairer fields for the exertion of industry, none in which human sustenance is more easily to be procured. Ireland pre-

sents a singular combination of primitive manners, and the want of refinement peculiar to young countries, and the laws and polity, the pecuniary capital, the manufactories and machinery, in which the older states abound. Where shall we find in one country such barbarity and refinement, such want and such wealth, so much distress and so much splendor, such deplorable misery and such bountiful liberality? The English Comedian * exactly depicted the wretchedness of the Dublin mendicants, when he said, " till I came to Dublin, I " never could form an idea what the beg- " gars of England did with their old " clothes; " † but at the same time where can

* Mr. Foote.

† A Lord Lieutenant not long since, although not conspicuous for brilliancy of wit, assumed this remark of Foote's to himself. His Excellency did not produce any suggestion, or adopt any means to remedy the evil.

can you meet with society more polished, or more gay, than that which distinguishes the Irish ladies and gentlemen? They have all the hilarity of France, with all the sincerity of England. When I look at a ball in the metropolis, I rejoice in the brilliancy of the scene; but if, in a moment of abstraction, I view, "in my mind's eye," a ferocious banditti, assembled with arms in their hands, and murder and desolation in their hearts,—I am deadened at the thought, and I am astonished at the strong delusion which prevails; which deprives labour of repose, and would build a nation's happiness on a nation's ruin, cemented with kindred blood.

The reader may have remarked, that the last grant but one, named in the above list, is that of the sum of six hundred pounds voted to the commissioners of charitable donations

donations and bequests, in Ireland.* It is of great consequence that donations of this kind should be preserved entire in all time, and should be applied according to the will of the donors. I know a very populous parish in London, possessed of various estates left for specific purposes; but unfortunately all the benefactions of which the churchwardens have the management, go in augmentation of the poor's rate. Two of the churchwardens are denominated *Renter-wardens;* they have in their custody the rent-roll of the parish estates, and they apply the rents, as they accrue, and which ought to be disposed of in *Free Alms*, to lighten the pressure of the poor's rate; in other words to save their own money; for it is self-evident that they avoid the payment

* This corporation was instituted by act of parliament, 40 Geo. III, cap. 75.

ment of rates, in proportion to the amount of the rents of estates left for charitable purposes. The parishioners here, in fact, intercept from the poor the monies left by the benevolent of former days! This is not the way to increase the list of benefactors to the poor, set out in all the splendor of gold letters, *ad captandum.* Who, in future, will bequeath a penny to the poor of a parish, guilty of such mean malversation? I must here observe that all those benefactions and donations, to the distribution of which the Rector of the parish is a party, are faithfully given according to the will of the founder, to the last farthing.

To prevent such diversions and unwarrantable appropriations of existing benefactions, the Irish board of Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests, has been wisely instituted. I know not on what principles the board conducts its proceedings.

I hope

I hope the commissioners are aware of Mr. Beckwith's valuable tract on the Preservation of Public Charities. Mr. Beckwith, blest with a patriarchal length of years, is yet alive. He still takes a lively interest in the success of his plans for the public good. His "Letter to Sir Samuel Romilly," printed in the year one thousand eight hundred and ten, (and distributed gratuitously amongst the principal members of the Houses of Lords and Commons, and others) was followed by complete success, in the appointment of a subsidiary officer to the Lord Chancellor, under the denomination of the Vice-Chancellor of England; the good effects of which appointment are daily felt by the suitors in the Court of Chancery. I feel a pleasure in extracting from the Letter to Sir Samuel Romilly the following short passage, the original hint which has produced such beneficial consequences: "Sup-

" Suppose one or more barristers, well " acquainted with the business of the Court " of Chancery, were by His Majesty con- " stituted a Judge or Judges for the sole " purpose of assisting the Chancellor under " the appellation of Equity Judge or Judges, " whose office it should be to hear and " determine causes in Lincoln's-Inn Hall, " on days when the Chancellor did not sit " there. Were it thought expedient to " provide competent salaries for such Judge " or Judges, the nation would, I appre- " hend, willingly pay an adequate com- " pensation for this additional labour out " of the public purse." (Letter, page 55.)

This passage is now become curious, and it will form hereafter a document for the history of the gradual development of the administration of the English law.

Mr. Beckwith is the author of " a Plan " to prevent all Charitable Donations for

" the

" the Benefit of Poor Persons, in the " several Parishes of England and Wales " from Loss, Embezzlement, Non-applica- " tion, Misapplication, Fraud, and Abuse, " in Future." With this publication we are more particularly concerned at present, and I beg leave to recommend it to the Commissioners of Charitable Donations in Dublin. It is comprised in xxxi chapters, extending to 188 pages, and enumerates almost every possible species of bequest, preceded by a luminous introduction, and closed by a PLAN admirably adapted to the purposes intended. By way of giving revived publicity to so salutary a measure, I shall insert the plan entire; first noticing here only the preface.

" I take it to be an incontrovertible truth, that the poor of every nation ought to be the care of those who are intrusted with the government thereof; because, being members of the same

same society, and standing in need of help, they ought to have it from the more opulent and powerful. This is clearly founded in the natural constitution of civil societies, which are composed of different orders of men, with faculties varying, so as to qualify them for the different offices required to give stability and happiness to the whole; for if in the component parts there where not a mixture of rich and poor, to make mutual assistance necessary for the good of the community, it could not long exist; as equality of condition would break the social connexion.

" This is fully confirmed by Revelation; and we find the poor were objects of peculiar care and protection under the Mosaic Dispensation, and particularly provided for by it, as declared in Deut. chap. xv. ver. 7 to 11. " If there be " among you a poor man of one of thy bre- " thren within any of thy gates, in the land " which the Lord thy God giveth thee, thou " shalt not harden thy heart, nor shut thine

" hand

" hand from thy poor brother, for the poor " shall not cease out of the land; therefore I " command thee, saying, thou shalt open thine " hand wide unto thy brother, to the poor, " and to the needy in thy land."

" I think what Josephus says, in his excellent History of the Antiquities of the Jews, book iv. chap. viii. is remarkable and deserving notice; when treating of the laws of beneficence and liberality to the poor, enjoined them by Moses, he observes, " that nothing is to be accounted " as given in vain; for the blessings which the " wealthy part of mankind enjoy are to be con- " sidered as a deposit, placed in their hands by " God himself, for the relief of all such of " their brethren as are afflicted with want and " distress: nor can men make a more proper " return for the munificence of God towards " themselves, than by sharing the favors they " receive with the rest of their species."

" If we look back into past ages, we shall find the most civilized nations paying particular attention

attention to the wants of their poor, and administering relief to their necessities, in various ways. As a proof of this, I will only select a few instances, from that great nation, the Romans. The Emperor Nerva, who began his reign *Anno Eræ Christianæ* 96, laid out a vast sum upon the purchase of land, to be divided among the poor of Rome, appointing some senators of known integrity to divide it among the most indigent, and the children of such as were poor he caused to be brought up, in all the cities of Italy, at the public expense.

" Trajan, his successor, is said to have excelled not only him, but all the preceding princes in largesses, with which he relieved not only the citizens of Rome, but the indigent people of all the provinces; and by means of these largesses, which he frequently renewed, he is said to have supported near two millions of souls, and appointed very considerable sums to be paid yearly out of the Exchequer, for the maintenance of children, whom their indigent

parents could not, without great difficulty, bring up and support.

" The Emperors Adrian and Constantine the Great were both very liberal benefactors to the poor during their reign, as may be learnt from their several biographers.

" I believe I may, with strict justice, assert, that no nation, for the extent of it, has so well provided for the poor of all denominations as Great Britain; and whoever takes a view of the great number and various establishments, ancient and modern, for their relief, will readily assent to this: but, at the same time, as meritorious as this must be allowed to be, there is abundant cause to complain of great and manifold frauds, breaches of trust, and negligences in the care and management of many of them, as I shall attempt to disclose in the sequel of this work, with the sole view of bringing forward an examination into all donations to charitable uses, in order to rectify whatever may be found amiss therein, and as far as possible, prevent the like in future.

" The

"The French, during the administration of M. Necker, made inquiry, I understand, into the various institutions for the relief of the poor in that extensive country, for the purpose of making a reform therein: and it appears there were in that kingdom seven hundred hospitals, and about a hundred private foundations of three or four beds each. The number of persons constantly relieved by these were said to be about one million one hundred thousand, of which forty thousand were incurable, twenty-five thousand sick, and forty thousand foundlings, and that the greatest part of the relief given came from the public funds. It is also said, that M. Necker, assisted by his excellent wife, improved those institutions considerably during his administration.

"I trust then an inquiry into the various establishments for the relief of the poor of this country, is a subject not unworthy the attention of our Ministers, as, I firmly believe, *there is much more occasion for a strict inquisition into the state*

and condition of our ancient and modern charitable foundations THAN THERE WAS EVEN IN FRANCE!"

Mr. Beckwith's plan to remedy the evils complained of, and his Table of an Abstract of Charitable Donations, will be found in the Appendix.

I have here to observe that in a provision of this nature Ireland precedes England. The Board of Commission which Mr. Beckwith projected for England, is already established in Ireland. I hope the Commissioners will not be offended at the hint I have taken the liberty to suggest. My motive is a sincere love of the country, and a wish that the poorer sort, whose friend I profess myself to be, may enjoy undiminished and unimpaired those bounties which the opulent have bequeathed to them.

CHAP.

CHAPTER IX.

Pulpit Orators in Ireland....London and Dublin badly Lighted....Placards....Attachment to Buonaparte....Folly and Malignity of the Disaffected....Postboys....Roads.

THE powers of pulpit oratory in Ireland are astonishing, and the effect produced on the feelings of congregations has been such that individuals having given all their money, often leave pledges, such as their watches, &c. which they afterwards redeem by large sums. Mr. Kirwan, late of Dublin, was formerly celebrated as a preacher, but in the estimation of many, he is now surpassed by Mr. Dunn. Indeed I had a very inadequate idea of argument or oratory until I heard this gentleman.

I have observed both here and in London that there are a vast many lamps in each capital, but that the streets are badly lighted; worse in Dublin than in London. Were they to go upon the Parisian plan, the centre might be equally as well lighted as the sides, by means of one large square lamp with four reflectors; and the expense would not exceed one fourth of the sum now expended. There are improvements of late by the introduction of gas-lights in many parts of the city and shops of London. Gas light has been used with great success in many extensive manufactories.

The drunkenness of the lower order also strikes a person most forcibly. The question is whether it be advantageous to swell the revenue at the expense of morals? It appears to me that while the principle on which the revenue is collected in Ireland is radically

radically defective, in consequence the morals of the inhabitants must become depraved.

Laws, says Horace, are of little avail without morals—*quid leges sine moribus vanæ proficiunt?* I have understood that the revenue of Ireland might be increased three-fold, were illicit distillation to be suppressed. This illicit distillation is followed by illicit consequences, which degrade public authority, and trample upon law and order. It is often maintained by open resistance, but where that is not the case, and where it does not rely upon force, it depends upon fraud, and seeks to corrupt the agents of the revenue. The practice now resorted to is of a hazardous nature; fining the town lands, and making each person a spy upon his neighbour. The fines have in many instances been so severe, that the judges have recommended to the

grand juries not to lay on road cesses in addition. Thus the public are to want roads because spirits are privately distilled. —The grand juries of several counties have recommended the encouragement of small stills. Every proprietor of a small still would in that case be a supervisor over his neighbour, which would restrain and perhaps ultimately suppress illicit distillation; while by fining heavily the consumer and purchaser, the evil might be subdued. If that shall not be deemed a remedy sufficient, make it felony. At any rate endeavour to bring back repose to the country, and relieve or rescue large districts from the systematic violence of fines and penalties. In Scotland formerly much turbulence grew out of extensive illicit distillation. The legislature interfered, gave the small stills encouragement; the evil consequences soon abated, and at last totally disappeared.

In

In Dublin I saw daily placards stuck up, written in very large letters purporting to be extracts from seditious prints, relative to Buonaparte; with particulars concerning his landing in France, conveyed in language calculated to irritate the public mind, and prepare them to resist the constituted authorities when a convenient opportunity shall present itself. In fact, there is no artifice or invention that is not resorted to in order to agitate and inflame the minds of the people.

To what infatuation can this be owing? I am aware that the disaffected in Ireland sent delegates to France, at the commencement of the revolution in that country, and that the invasion of Ireland, and the landing at Killala, were in consequence of invitations from certain convicted, expatriated, and afterwards, executed traitors in Ireland. The examinations before the secret

cret committees of both Houses of Parliament, and the depositions of the witnesses in the courts of law, on the trial of delinquents, prove this. But what can be the object of such men at this day? Can they seriously wish to pass under the domination of France, or of any other country? Can they hope it? France, which at one time indulged in dreams of universal empire, is herself at this moment, in the situation of a conquered country, drained by contributions, and obliged to furnish daily rations of provisions and forage. The *march to Paris* has been performed, maugre all opposition, in two successive years; and *that man*, once deemed invincible, and superior to chance, has been found out to be unequal to great emergencies. As far as he himself was concerned, he lost the battle of Marengo, as completely as he lost that of Waterloo; Dessaix, by a well-timed charge, recovered

recovered the day at Marengo. That warrior purchased victory at the expense of his life. Marshal Ney was a bad substitute for him at Waterloo, and Buonaparte beaten, had recourse to the expedient he had twice before resorted to,—when he deserted his army in Egypt, after Sir Sidney Smith checked his career at St. Jean d'Acre, and after Rotopschin destroyed by fire his hoped-for quarters at Moscow—he ran away. The child and champion of jacobinism, whom his parent faction could no longer maintain at Paris, is now sent to end his days, in irretrievable exile, like Prometheus at Caucasus, on the insulated rock of St. Helena—a prisoner in the hands of those very English who are detested by certain besotted malcontents in Ireland. With great difficulty did the news of his defeat gain credit in Ireland. I demand again, what is their object? Would they transfer their

allegiance

allegiance to any other state? The age of revolutions is past; and all their exertions, and all their violence, can only be productive of misery and destruction to themselves and their wretched adherents. They may malevolently tease England and the government of both countries; but they will most of all tease and torment themselves. They can never overturn the settled constitution of the United Kingdom. They will but retard, for they cannot finally prevent, the prosperity and happiness of their native land; in the mean time they have the diabolical satisfaction of doing mischief for mischief's sake.

On leaving Dublin, one is surprized to see the irregularity in dress of the post-boys, and the badness of the harness. I had in contemplation to propose a plan to government on this subject,—to have posting regulated on the same principle as in France;

where

where you have a book which tells you exactly your expense; the postillions are dressed in uniform and are subject to martial law—had government adopted this plan at the close of the war with the commissariat and artillery horses, which were then disposed of at immense loss, the country would have saved a prodigious sum of money; an increase of revenue would have been the consequence, and the public would have been comfortably accommodated.

The non-commissioned officers who superintended them while on service, might easily have regulated their conduct in this new employment, under a few officers, as commissioners occasionally to make an inspection; but this is called a free country, and under that idea, the public are to suffer all sorts of imposition and inconvenience! Ability to do good should be perfectly unshackled, but all attempts to cheat or impose

pose upon the public should be strongly coerced. Where there is a turnpike road, the gates and other matters are under the care and management of commissioners, who too often neglect to keep these gates in repair; which to a stranger has a most slovenly and a most disagreeable appearance, for it decidedly marks and brands the country with neglect and inattention.

There has been of late vast improvements in the mail coach roads from Dublin to Cork, owing to the exertions of Mr. Anderson of Fermoy; who keeps also the mail coaches in a good style, both as to elegance and convenience on that road. The northern road as far as Drogheda continues nearly in the same state in which it was during King William's reign, owing to the opposition of those of the old school, who are jealous of improvement. There are violent disputes in Ireland concerning the

the most eligible way of raising a fund for the repair of the roads; whether by toll-bars or turnpike-gates, or whether by a cess or rate laid upon lands, &c. Both methods have their defects and recommendations, and consequently both have their adherents and opposers. Perhaps no small light may be thrown upon the subject by carefully examining the returns to the questions prescribed by the act of last sessions, already quoted in the chapter containing *a Suggestion for the Improvement of the English Poor-Laws*, and inserted in pages 156 and 157 of this volume, to which the reader is now requested to refer.

CHAPTER X.

Impediments to the Improvement of Ireland.... Absentees.

I COME now to the leading points which operate as the chief impediments to the advancement of Ireland, and prevent her from taking the proper station to which she is entitled among civilized nations, namely, the absentee-landlords, or proprietors of land, and the difference of religion. I shall also make a few observations as to the mode of distributing justice, and endeavour to point out how necessary it is for the sake of decorum and morality to give greater solemnity to judicial oaths, and to render the administration of oaths less frequent.

Some

Some are of opinion that about one half of the rents of the entire landed property in Ireland is received by absentee-landlords, or proprietors of land, who drain the country by every possible contrivance that may be deemed best suited to their own purposes; and at the same time contribute hardly in the smallest degree, either to the advantage of the state, or to the interest or comfort of their tenantry. Oppression, legal severity and exaction, generally speaking, seem to sway their mind, and to influence their proceedings.

Why are families flying from Ireland to a contemptible obscurity in foreign countries, or to dissipate their fortunes in the expensive insipidity of an English watering-place? How can the condition of society be meliorated or barbarity softened, if those whose influence and example might insensi-

bly reform others, themselves desert their unhappy country?

To a political injury inflicted by the absence of so many hundreds of men of wealth and education, must also be superadded a moral evil;—an accomplished family in its circle, harmonizes and enlightens society;—a body of gentry sheds upon the subordinate classes in the gradation of society, an enlarged portion of civilization and improvement;—take away those who may be styled the natural reformers, and continual improvers of society; and will not the energies of social improvement be diminished in proportion?

Swift wondered that so many of his countrymen, in his time, should relinquish their utility, and renounce their importance; and go to England, to stand at the back of a crowded court, where they are preceded

by

by thousands and neglected by those in power; but how much more bitterly would he have reproved the prevailing *mania* of leaving both England and Ireland, and living in France. The political ingratitude of leaving a country which supplies a person's income, to spend that income in a foreign land, admits of no apology. The effect of alienation and estrangement upon the minds of those bred up in foreign countries, must in time add to our other manifold misfortunes.

If a man owe his country no manly duty, let him go, if he will, and live where animal life can be indulged in the greatest luxury and at the least expense. But while we allow that there are such things as public spirit, patriotism, and generous devotion to the land of our forefathers, let us not compromise the duties which those virtues demand of us, for the paltry indulgence of

eating a cheaper dinner in a foreign country than we should at home. The motive to emigration is unworthy in a political sense, unmanly in many respects, and unbecoming those who have such a country as Ireland to enjoy with all its freedom and advancing prosperity.

Suppose that a similar proportion of the property of England was in the hands of Frenchmen, or proprietors residing in France, who should have no more regard for the comfort or the benefit of their tenantry in England, than those resident in England have for their tenantry in Ireland; —that they were only to visit their estates in England from France, in the same manner as the proprietors in England visit their's in Ireland, for the purpose of receiving their rents; that they were to have no ties of mutual regard, more than what the generality of English proprietors have for the

their tenantry in Ireland;—to what a debased state of moral degradation would you not soon see the people of England, labouring under similar difficulties and subject to similar evils, reduced? Disgusted with existence, and seeing no prospect of amendment in their situation, would they not soon become ferocious and desperate?

In the county of Monaghan in the north, there is adjoining the author's property, one barony called the barony of Farney, which is almost exclusively in the possession of two great proprietors who have possessed these estates for a long period. They never reside there, nor do they contribute in any degree to improve the condition of their tenantry. The result is that the inhabitants of that barony are a disgrace to the county, and so notorious for crimes, robberies, and misdemeanours, that the gentlemen of the grand jury are ashamed to

acknowledge it as a component part of the county, while in other divisions the people from the force of good example are orderly, regular, and remarkable for their good conduct. In that barony no planting, no improvement is to be seen, but the sad and dismal marks of despotism and rapine are every where conspicuous.

Ought not some remedy to be applied to these abuses? If it neither suit the convenience or pleasure of such absentees to reside on their estates, ought they not to contribute by some means to the necessities of a country from whence they derive so much revenue? The government in these cases would be perfectly justified in withholding its countenance, and not conferring either honour or emolument on those who so far forget the principles of equity or consideration, as to desert their native country. Let those, and those only enjoy them who live in it.

I have

I have understood it after all to be considered by the British government as more advantageous to the state, to permit these absentees to reside unmolested in England, because there they pay a greater proportion of taxes.

But this is, I believe, a great mistake; for most of these people evade taxes by travelling frequently from one place to another; —neither can I suppose the government of England to be so illiberal, or so short-sighted, as to calculate upon taxation of this kind. A measure so pregnant with mischief to Ireland cannot be beneficial to the United Kingdom. The sister islands have one common interest; and if Ireland be robbed of her wealth and impoverished in the manner she has hitherto been by the unnatural conduct of the absentees, she must be sadly deficient in her revenue, and must suffer proportional detriment.

There have been many plans suggested to induce the absentees to reside in Ireland. A scheme in the way of taxation may be fairly attempted; and there seems something so reasonable, and so judiciously graduated in Mr. Newenham's* plan, that I beg leave to lay it before the reader. He calls it a "*Digression concerning Absentees.*"

"The annual remittances to absentees are generally supposed to amount to about two millions sterling. I apprehend, however, that they do not fall short of three.

"In a pamphlet, entitled "*A List of Absentees,*" said to be written by Mr. Thomas Prior, and published in 1729, it is stated, that the annual remittances to absentees of all descriptions, amounted to £627,799.† In another pamphlet

* The title of Mr. Newenham's book is, "A Statistical and Historical Inquiry into the Progress and Magnitude of the Population of Ireland."

† Page 13.

pamphlet entitled, "*A Scheme of the Money Matters of Ireland,*" written by John Browne, Esq. and published in 1729, it is computed, and seems extremely probable, that the landlords' rent of that country did not amount to more than £2,025,000.* In a list of absentees published in 1785, it is stated, that the remittances from Ireland to this country, for their use, amounted to £1,608,932. About six or seven years before, Mr. Arthur Young computed that the landlords' rent amounted to about £6,000,000; and was of opinion that the money remitted to absentees, in general, exceeded £1,000,000.† Now I think there can be no doubt that the rental of Ireland has much more than doubled within these last six and twenty years; and that the absentees have been much more numerous since the accursed rebellion of 1798, than at any period since the middle of the last century. If therefore Mr. Young was well

* Page 15.

† Tour, vol. ii. part ii. page 85.

well informed, we have some reason for suspecting that the actual remittances to absentees do not fall much short of three millions.

" The gain by trade must certainly be extraordinarily great and uniform to reimburse Ireland sufficiently for so vast an annual loss. That it will be very great, and continue so, we have good reason to hope; but that it will prove completely adequate to the end desired may perhaps be doubted. The people of Ireland do not appear, at present, to experience any very serious inconvenience from the loss which they annually sustain. But if capitals sufficient to establish, or extend manufactures, be not accumulated, which can scarcely be expected during the continuance of so great a drain of money; if the demand for labour do not keep pace with the increase of people, which, in such case, it may not; if industry be overstocked; there will undoubtedly be reason to apprehend a recurrence of those disturbances which have already proved so injurious to Ireland; and

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tended, in so signal a manner, to increase the evil complained of. And a recurrence of those disturbances, by aggravating the evil in question, will prepare the way for further disturbances; and eventually have the effect of sinking the value of land, in the same ratio, in which a continuation of tranquillity would assuredly raise it: besides proving, in a variety of respects detrimental, and perhaps ultimately dangerous to this country. If Ireland grows poor, England will experience no small diminution of her wealth. If the former be convulsed, the strength of the latter must necessarily be impaired: and time may produce conjunctures in which a state of debility, thus induced, may alarm the most confident politician in the empire.

"To prevent the various probable mischiefs of an exhausting efflux of money from Ireland, the most obvious expedients are, to hold forth every possible encouragement to tillage; to persevere in that system which has raised the linen manufacture to its present height; to give every

encouragement

encouragement to the cotton manufacture, in all its branches; and perhaps to impose a modified tax upon the estates of absentees.

" The indiscriminate imposition of any tax on the incomes of these landed proprietors who reside in this country; much more the imposition of such a tax (four shillings in the pound) as was frequently in the contemplation of the talking patriots of Ireland; and strongly urged by Mr. Thomas Prior, would be a most flagrant outrage on those principles from which a wise and equitable government will never depart. And I moreover conceive that such an unfair tax would be perfectly unnecessary. The evil complained of, and which seems likely to produce such bad effects, may be sufficiently compensated for, as far as a tax on absentees can have that effect, by an infinitely less rigorous and invidious mode of proceeding; and one in which I can easily persuade myself a large majority of the absentees of Ireland would, on reflection, cheerfully acquiesce.

" The

" The absentee landlords of Ireland may be divided into four principal classes, the first, consisting of those who neither have mansions in that country; nor have ever resided there. The second, consisting of those who have mansions in that country; but have never resided there: the third, consisting of those who have not mansions in that country: but have, nevertheless, resided there occasionally: and the fourth, consisting of those who have mansions in that country, and have also resided there. To impose an equal tax, however small, on these different classes, would evidently be inconsistent with the principles of equity. Suppose then a tax of sixpence in the pound were laid on the income, arising from land in Ireland, of every individual belonging to the first class, until he had resided in that country either two months in each year, during four years; four months in each year, during two years; or eight months in all: a tax of one shilling in the pound on the similar income of every individual belonging

belonging to the second class, until he had resided there three months in each year, during four years; six months in each year, during two years; or one year in all: the same tax on the income of every individual of the third class, until he had, from the passing of the act, resided there four months in each year, during four years; eight months in each year, during two years; or sixteen months in all; and a tax of two shillings in the pound on the income of every individual of the fourth class, until, from the passing of the act, he had resided five months in each year during four years; ten months in each year during two years; or twenty months in all. And suppose that these taxes were re-imposed on the incomes of the heirs and successors of the present absentees, until they had fulfilled the conditions prescribed; and that all persons above the age of fifty years were exempt. And suppose further, that one-third of the produce of these taxes were applied to the encouragement of manufactures, one third to the improvement

provement of agriculture, and one-third to promote the discovery and working of collieries.—I am disposed to think that the absentees would, upon the whole, find themselves in the end infinitely more benefited than aggrieved; and that by such an appropriation of the tax, Ireland would, in the course of time, be in some degree rescued from the effects of an evil which no other nation in Europe experiences to so great a proportionate extent. This tax moreover might, nay probably would, in many instances, induce landlords to visit their estates: a circumstance, which I am convinced, would be pregnant with much benefit, not merely to their tenants, but to themselves; and perhaps prove adequate in effect to the application of that part of the tax which would thereby be lost."

CHAPTER XI.

Subject continued....Reports of Disturbances exaggerated; and by whom....Judge Day's Opinion on the Proportion of Crimes in Dublin, compared with London....Conduct of Absentees a main Cause of Disturbances.....Improvement of Police suggested.

THE hereditary sinecure places, which have been distributed in succession by various Lord-Lieutenants, are oppressive to the state; and frequently serve only to enable those on whom they are conferred, to expose themselves and their country to ridicule, either in France or at a watering-place in England: — where these characters, selected by a Lord-Lieutenant as hereditary pensioners on Ireland, may be found at an old lady's tea party, or exposing

exposing themselves in the rooms, frequently in a minuet, without a knowledge of music, measure, or grace: and poor Ireland is to bear the burthen of all this, and support the folly and *mauvais ton* for which such places have been proverbial. These people are always magnifying disturbances in Ireland. The first question they ask you is,—" is all quiet in that country?" and in case you say you are not aware of any existing disturbance, they set you down as a stupid being, and they are sadly disappointed; or in case there is the smallest foundation for such a report, like Lady Sneerwell, Mrs. Candour, or others equally kind, in the comedy of the School for Scandal, that unfortunate country suffers from the tongues and from the venom of those from whom gratitude, or the most distant spark of honourable feeling, ought to claim their protection.

How severely and how grievously disappointed would those people be, were they to be told that in the proximity of the village where the author has some property, there has not been a criminal prosecution against an individual in that neighbourhood, including a population exceeding five thousand souls, for upwards of twenty-six years. That in Carrickfergus there was a person lately executed, who was the first inhabitant of the county and town of Carrickfergus that had suffered death during a period of forty-four years.

Let them also read Judge Day's Statement to the Grand Jury of the county of Dublin, in which he states that although the population of London is only as three to one of that of Dublin, yet the crimes in the former are as fifty to one compared with those of the latter. If there are disturbances, they are the absentees I have described

cribed who are the chief cause of them. These disturbances are occasioned by their plunder, by their injustice, and by their oppression, which irritate the people and instigate them to resistance. These disturbers have hitherto been known by some particular name, such as White-Boys, Peep-of-Day-Boys, or some other boys; so that from oppression or mismanagement there has been continually a boy of some description walking through the country.

The government should make inquiry into the cause of this extraordinary phenomenon and they will shudder at the discovery. Unfortunately there has hitherto been no solid or steady system of police adopted. They act generally and diffusively throughout the whole country on, what has been called, the principle of the London police; never checking the evil in its commencement, but permitting it to

ripen and come to maturity, when they fly, alarmed at the evil, to the other extreme, and violent measures are resorted to.

The whole district is then denounced and proclaimed to be in a state of insurrection; several persons are noticed by the government for their activity who would not otherwise have been distinguished, and establish claims on the government, while the unhappy people are irritated and goaded to desperation by the heavy penalties thus inflicted and imposed on many for the crimes of a few.

The executive government should weigh carefully, and maturely consider the mode best adapted to remedy the evil. The fundamental principle ought to be laid in justice and an endeavour to check abuses. They should lay down a steady plan, and prosecute it regularly. But that plan should never be infringed upon; it should be as sacred

sacred as national character, and should not, as has hitherto been the case, change and vary its principle and mode of acting, according to the disposition of the party who succeed to power in England.

Nothing could be more simple than the establishment of a regular police in Ireland, throughout the entire kingdom. I have noticed the frugal use made of the *gendarmerie* in France.* At Paris a person would be at a loss to ascertain what number of *gens d'armes* was there, and must be astonished to hear that there were only fifteen cavalry and twenty-five infantry for the duty of that capital; owing to the judicious arrangement of the correspondence already noticed. They form by similar means a constant patrole and a living telegraph throughout France; communicating from village to village, and from de-

* Vide page 137, vol. ii.

partment to department. These are in addition to the *gens d'armes, gardes des forêts, gardes champêtres,* added to the *douaniers* or revenue officers, who altogether form a most effectual security for the preservation of the peace and tranquillity of the country, at a very trifling expense to the state.

In Ireland, there are out-pensioners of Kilmainham Hospital, in abundance, who receive a large daily sum; and would be proud of being called upon, with the trifling expence of receiving once a year a suit of clothes, or uniform. I would undertake to arrange a system of control and correspondence that would be equally on the move through Ireland, and would be responsible for the feasibility and success of the measure. There are many gamekeepers on gentlemen's estates, that might be registered; they have local knowledge, and could be most materially useful.

In

In fact, I would have every person enjoying employment or emolument under government, active in the preservation of the peace, and assiduous in supporting the laws and government of the country; for really when we look at the civilization and improvement that has taken place throughout Europe, it is a most distressing reflection to consider that the people in the South of Ireland continue nearly in the same state of barbarism as in the time of Henry the Second. The plan now acted upon, merely to preserve the peace of the country, might be suited to the times of Strongbow, when he was to have married Macdermot's daughter Eva, but by no means offers such a system of regular government as is calculated for the present times.

CHAPTER XII.

Wretched Appearance of the Working Class in Ireland....Cause of it....Proneness of the Irish to Litigation....Observations on Criminal Trial.... Parliamentary Report concerning the Gaols in Ireland.

A STRANGER is at first surprized at not seeing the people of Ireland, of the working class, equally well dressed with those of England; but he never reflects that a labouring man in Ireland receives only ten pence a day for his labour, with which ten pence he is to support himself and his family; that in Ireland the tenant is obliged to build his own house, to make his own fences, and to keep them in repair; added to his paying generally a most enormous rack-

rent

rent for his land. It is therefore left for the traveller to consider what remains of his ten pence, after all these drawbacks, to purchase himself clothes. While in England the landlord builds the house on a regular plan, which adds to the beauty and good appearance of the country; the landlord also makes the fences; whilst a labouring man can there earn from half a crown to three shillings a day.

The credulous disposition of the Irish, subjects them to all sorts of imposition. No matter how absurd or how inconsistent a story it be; if it be but told with a solemn countenance, they are sure to believe it. Thus an attorney (with which class of honest men the country is pretty generally overstocked) informs an Irishman that he has a legal claim to what a person of less cullibility would laugh at;—by these means two parties are involved in a lawsuit which frequently

quently terminates in their ruin, to the sole emolument of the worthy attorney, thus labouring in his vocation.

In passing through a village I heard a grave looking clergyman deprecating the expense attendant on law, which induced me to enquire into the particulars of his case; when he informed me that he had offered to compromise a debt, and to pay the person with whom he had a contest, fifteen pounds, which he refused to accept. The result was that it came to a trial, and the jury awarded ten pounds to the plaintiff instead of the fifteen pounds which he would otherwise have received, and which ten pounds the defendant had to pay in addition to his costs of suit amounting to £130. This is not an unusual occurrence—while the difficulty of convicting a criminal is of such a nature as to afford a sort of protection and encouragement to robbery, violence,

and

and outrage. I shall here beg permission to relate the circumstances of one trial, which came within my knowledge, in order to point out the difficulty of prosecuting a felon to conviction; and as nineteen out of twenty escape, they triumph over all law, order, or regularity; and more than this, having been confined from one assizes to another, which is generally a period of six months, they imbibe principles of infamy, that render them dangerous to society.

One of the great advantages in France is, that a criminal is always put on his trial within a month, by which he is not exposed to the taint of those corrupt principles which are usually acquired by associating with the immorality and vice always to be found in such profusion among the inmates of a prison.

Report of the Trial of Patrick Begley at Dundalk Assizes, March 1815.

Prisoner indicted for robbing His Majesty's mail between Dublin and Fork Hill, in the town of Dundalk, on Sunday morning the 5th March, about the hour of four o'clock.—A second count for having in his possession a £1 bank note, which was taken from the said mail when robbed.

James Dawson, Esq. sworn—said, on Friday the 3d. March he enclosed in a letter to Mrs. Dawson, from Lord Cremorne's at Dawson Grove, a £1 bank note, which he proved to be the same with that produced in court. That he arrived on Sunday morning following at Fork Hill Lodge, &c. having been informed before he reached that place, that the Fork Hill postboy had been robbed that morning of the mail. That on Monday, the next morning, he had been at Fenton's the postmaster of Fork Hill, when the prisoner came in, and enquired of Fenton, whether a £1 bank note he held in his hand was a good note or not? That on witness seeing the note, he immediately recognized it to be the same he had enclosed at Dawson Grove. That he then interrogated the prisoner Begley how he came by the note? When the prisoner said, he had got it that morning from a man of the name of Frank Murphy

Murphy at Silver Bridge. That at first he said he would swear he had so come by it; but on the witness's taking him at his word, and asking him, as a magistrate, to swear to the fact, he refused to swear; saying he had not got it from said Frank Murphy, but had found it on the Thursday night preceding under his foot where he was drinking. That he afterwards said, he had found it on the road as he was coming home from a bog. That he afterwards said, he had found it that morning on the road near Katty Booney's house. That having so prevaricated as to the manner of his coming by said bank note, strong suspicion arose of his being concerned in the robbery of the mail the morning before, and witness had him apprehended and committed.—

Witness, *cross-examined by Counsellor Scriven*, said, he put the bank note into the letter—did not direct the letter, but attached a billet to the letter with the direction—*Mrs. Dawson, Fork Hill Lodge, Fork Hill*,—and enclosed it with two more letters under cover to Edward S. Lees, Esq. General Post Office, Dublin—That he put said letter, or packet, into Lord Cremorne's letter bag.

Miles Bulger, butler to Lord Cremorne, sworn—said, he gave said bag, with the letters Mr. Dawson had

had put into it, to Patrick M'Gawley, the boy, to have it left at the porter's lodge, for the postman from Clones to take up, and to carry to the post office, Coote Hill.

Patrick M'Gawley sworn—said, he took the said letter-bag to Mr. Sharp, the porter at the gate, on Friday the 3d of March.

James Sharp, porter at the gate, sworn—said, he received the said letter-bag from Patrick M'Gawley, and that he forwarded it in the same manner he had received it, as usual, to Coote Hill, by James Clark the postboy, riding between Clones and Coote Hill, on said Friday, the 3d March.

James Clark sworn—said, he is postboy between Clones and Coote Hill, that he got Lord Cremorne's letter bag on Friday the 3d of March from James Sharp, at Lord Cremorne's gate, and took it, as he had received it, to the Coote Hill post office, where he delivered it to Miss Wallace the post-mistress.

Jane Wallace sworn—said, she is post-mistress at Coote Hill; recollects receiving Lord Cremorne's letter-bag from the Clones postboy on Friday the 3d March, and dispatching the letters which were in it, on the same evening to Dublin, in the usual manner.

Thomas Parsons, Esq. sworn—said, he held a situation in the Secretary's office, General Post-Office, Dublin,

Dublin, that he recollected the mail from Coote Hill arriving regularly on Saturday morning the 4th March, and that to the best of his knowledge and belief, he received Mr. Dawson's parcel of letters, directed to the Secretary, which he opened, and directed each to its place of destination, regularly charged with the postage, and that the mails were afterwards on said Saturday evening dispatched as usual.,

Patrick M'Kenna sworn—is servant boy to Mr. M'Gusty, the postmaster of Dundalk, recollects getting the mail from Dublin to Fork Hill on Sunday morning the 5th of March—said, he gave the same to Lawrence Muckian the postboy, who carries the mail from Dundalk to Fork Hill, on the same Sunday morning, the 5th, to be conveyed as usual to Fork Hill.

Lawrence Muckian sworn—is the postboy that carries the mail from Dundalk to Fork Hill; recollects receiving the mail from Dublin to Fork Hill, with the post-bag on Sunday morning the 5th of March instant, from Patrick M'Kenna, and said, he did not proceed far from the Dundalk post-office, when he was stopped by two men, one of whom presented a pistol to his breast, and swore he would shoot him, if he made the least noise, and did not deliver him up the mail bag instantly; that he was was very much affrighted, and

gave

gave up the bag; and that said men when they got the mail proceeded out of town.

James Fenton sworn—is the postmaster at Fork Hill, said that there did not any mail arrive, as usual, at Fork Hill post-office, on Sunday morning the 5th of March instant—That he was at home on Monday the 6th, the morning after the robbery of the mail; that he saw the prisoner Begley come into his (the witness's) house the same Monday morning, with a bank note in his hand; and that he asked the witness, whether the said note was a good one or not?—and the witness corroborated Mr. Dawson's testimony respecting the bank note in question.

Francis Murphy sworn—he lives at Silver Bridge, he scarcely knows Begley the prisoner; he never gave him a £1 bank note.

James Johnston of Fork Hill sworn—he knows Begley the prisoner—he saw him on Monday morning, the 6th of March instant, buy glue at Stephen Grant's, and pay him with a £1 bank note, which he proved to be the same which was produced in court, and identified by Mr. Dawson.

Stephen Grant sworn—identified the note produced to be the same presented to him by the prisoner Begley, in payment of glue, on Monday morning the 6th

of

of March instant, on which occasion it was endorsed with Patrick Begley's name on the back—but suspecting it not to be a good note, he returned it same morning to the prisoner.

Mrs. Grant, wife to the last witness, sworn—testimony the same.

Mr. Byrneside, clerk to the bank of Ball and Co. sworn—said, the bank note so proved and produced was a genuine good note.

Here the evidence on behalf of the crown closed.

On behalf of the prisoner were called, *Michael O'Callaghan*, of Cullaville, Esq. and *Mr. James Boyle*, of Dundalk—both sworn, and gave the prisoner a good character.

The jury returned a verdict *Guilty*.—The prisoner received sentence of death, and was executed on Monday the 10th of April 1815.

In the progress of the evidence against the prisoner, a chain of facts are carried on linked to each other, by shewing that the bank note found upon the prisoner could not have been purloined, stolen, or lost from the time the letter in which it was originally enclosed was put into Lord

Cremorne's letter-bag at Dawson Grove, until the mail bag was robbed and taken in the street of Dundalk from the postboy;—and had one link of the chain been wanting in the evidence to keep the whole connected, the jury would have been directed by the judge to take into their consideration the possibility of the letter and bank note being lost, destroyed and disposed of, because of the vacuum that was in the evidence;—and as there was a possibility of that fact, it was their duty, if a reasonable doubt arose in their mind, to lean to mercy *in favorem vitæ*, and to acquit the prisoner.

I am happy to state (for I should be sorry to be thought capable of detailing what is bad and suppressing what is good in any case), that "the Condition and Government of the State Prisons and other Gaols in Ireland" have undergone the inspection

spection of commissioners appointed by the King, in consequence of an address of the House of Commons. The commissioners were Judge Daly; the Rev. James Verschoyle, Dean of St. Patrick's; William Disney; George Renny, and John Geale, Esquires. Their report was ordered to be printed by the House of Commons, and is full of most interesting matter; but I shall content myself with extracting, in my Appendix, the *Appendix of General Evidence*, given on oath by the "Rev. Foster Archer, Inspector-General of Prisons, and Isaac de Joncourt, Esq. Local Inspector of the Prisons of the county of the city of Dublin."

CHAPTER XIII.

Frequency of Oaths deprecated.

FEW things do more serious mischief or have more pernicious tendency in corrupting the lower orders, and sapping the foundations of religion and morality, than the frequency of oaths; or the custom of making the people swear on the Holy Evangelists on trivial occasions.

Where there are petty customs, duties, or tolls to be paid at a fair or a market, you will see in Ireland at each entrance of a town a ruffian-looking fellow generally posted with a prayer-book,* or a bible in his hand,

* Swearing on a *prayer-book*, I believe, is still occasionally done, by the ignorant in Ireland. To swear upon one of the office-books of the church, was not uncommon

hand, crying out to each person who approaches with a horse, a cow, or any

 animal

uncommon before the Reformation in England. There is a curious passage in the notes on the *Summæ* of Sir *Ralph Hengham*, by the learned Selden, which illustrates this. Selden quotes a passage from Roger de Hoveden to the following effect, " *attulit (Johannes* " *regis marischallus, sc.) in curiâ mea* [*q. curiam meam*] " *quendam* Toper *et juravit super illum.*" " He " brought a *toper* into my court, and swore upon it." That *toper* was a church-book of the time, and it is what, in a constitution of Robert Winchelsey, is called *troperium.* See *Lindewood, Provin. Constit. Tit. de Eccles. edificand.* Jacob says, " *troper, troperium,* is " a book of alternate *turns* in singing mass. Called " by Lindewood, *liber sequentiarum.*" See, too, an account of books used in churches before the Reformation, by J. Lewis, Minister of Margate. See also *Collectanea Curiosa,* by Gutch, v. 2, p. 169. It appears, however, that an oath upon the *troperium* was not sufficient in the case instanced—" *quod qui curiam* " *alterius falsificare voluerit, oportet eum jurare super* " Sacrosancta Evangelia." The very exception taken,

proves

animal for which a toll is demandable, in a sepulchral voice, frequently rendered hoarse by a repetition of this species of blasphemy, "bought or sold? kiss the book." The person, in order to avoid the payment of toll, generally takes the oath. Again; go to a Quarter Sessions, and you will see the Clerk of the Peace, and his assistants, administering oaths by scores. If, to exercise the right of a freeholder, the peasant is to swear he is worth forty shillings a year clear; at another period it may be convenient to avoid paying a certain tax from which his poverty may exempt him, and

proves the custom of swearing upon the *toper*, for so it was called in vulgar English. The passage in Hoveden occurs sub anno 1165. Sir Henry Savil's edition folio, 1599, p. 283.—I have indulged the seductive spirit of antiquarianism. Is there any thing explanatory of the phrase, "to swear like a *trooper*," in this use of the *troperium*?

and he is induced then to swear that he is not worth forty shillings a year. Thus one of the most sacred of all human obligations, is converted to base purposes, and is so unnecessarily, and so often used, that the solemnity of an appeal to the Supreme Being is destroyed, and the very use and purpose of an oath are entirely done away. Character, property, life, and all, are by these means rendered insecure, and every thing sacred and valuable to an individual, is at the mercy of persons systematically corrupt under the apparent powerful sanction of the law.* In

 fact,

* I wish that some of our legal casuists would examine the nature of promissory and exculpatory oaths. I have a notion, that whereas *interested witnesses* are not heard in our courts of law; persons interested in oaths, such as those above-mentioned, should be appealed to on oath as seldom as possible, to say the least; oaths of office are *promissory* oaths; perhaps that class of oaths must still subsist, *ex necessitate*, such

fact, combine all circumstances in Ireland, —whether it be religion, law, revenue, or police,—the entire system seems to be formed upon principles calculated to corrupt the morals and to debase the character of the inhabitants. We are not therefore to be surprized at the ignorance of the lower orders. The great misfortune of all classes is an *excess of good-nature*—this is an endemial weakness. The good-nature and easy disposition of the gentlemen, leads them to put up with great inconveniences without remonstrance, such as a bad post-chaise, a bad inn, a slovenly servant, &c. The

such are also the oaths of *allegiance*, &c. But as to *exculpatory* oaths, by which payment of money is got rid of, and *Custom-House oaths*, *et hoc genus omne*, I am not casuist enough to satisfy my mind of the propriety of enjoining and administering them. People ought not to be exposed to the temptation of taking them.

The same easy and good-natured disposition leads them to be such dupes at the several clubs—where their extravagance, *bonhomie*, and folly are proverbial. While the credulity and easy disposition of the lower orders, make them the tools of designing men, who convert them to the worst of purposes in order to obtain their object. An improved education, and an enlarged intercourse with the world, it is presumed, may furnish a remedy.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Public Roads of Ireland.

JOBBING still exists to a serious degree, most particularly in public roads, by which means the internal commerce of the country, the convenience of the inhabitants, and the accommodation of travellers, suffer most materially. In order to make this appear more clear to the reader, the author will here beg leave to state a few facts that have come within the compass of his own personal knowledge.

During the disturbance, or rebellion, of 1798, the author was appointed to command a battalion of light infantry, and was at that time under the orders of Sir John Moore. An attack on the town in which he

he was stationed was menaced by the rebels, of which Sir John being aware, called upon the author for a report as to his state of defence—which was, that there were six public roads communicating between that and another town, the distance being only ten miles; a circumstance which in that respect would have given the enemy an advantage of five to one: for they had their choice of the seven for an attack on that point where they could bring their whole force to bear, with the exception of small diversions in the other points; while the force of the author would be broken into seven divisions, "only one of which "could be applicable to the defence of "the line selected by the enemy." Not one of these roads formed either a short, that is a right, or a level line; but each of them owed its construction to a job, to serve the local interest and paltry purpose

of

of a grand juror. You will often see a good line of road extending perhaps one or two miles beyond a gentleman's house, and there stopping; when perhaps a continuance of it, one or two miles farther, would open an extensive district of country; and this you see often added to a multiplicity of bad lines of road; the expense of which blundering jobs, the unfortunate indigent, half starved, and oppressed peasantry, are obliged to bear.

The author originally obtained his property in Ireland by his predecessors' following the fortune of war from Wales, and a grant was given of the estate, under the stipulation that they were to build a castle at a central situation, for the convenience of the troops, so that they could arrive in a short space of time at any given point; and Castle Blayney, from its peculiar site, was fixed upon accordingly. Could government

set

set aside interested applications, and examine the map in a military point of view, they would discover that Athlone, Enniskillen, and Castle Blayney, are situations, three angles of a triangle, where they should have military depots for troops, by which means they would be *à portée*, wherever the exigency might require; whereas they may fatally discover, in case of invasion, when that discovery may be useless, that by their present arrangements the soldiers will have to march thirty, forty, and sixty miles, whilst by the proposed plan a march of only ten, twelve, or fifteen may be necessary. Reinforcements may arrive too late, or on their reaching their destination, they may be incapable of exertion from fatigue; fatal consequences may ensue, and they may read these observations afterwards in a melancholy tone when all is lost, and there is no remedy.

The

The government adopted a wise and judicious measure in sending engineers to survey proper lines of road for the mail-coach. To this plan they steadily adhered, notwithstanding the opposition of grand juries; and the result has been that it has opened an hitherto impracticable mountainous country in the north. The mail-coach and the traveller were obliged to ascend, descend, and climb over a succession of hills; for in the north the hills rise in most places in the form of sugar loaves, and they *ingeniously* contrived in former times to make the road over the extreme tops of them, rendering conveyance, by carts or carriages, most difficult and almost impassible.* The grip of the ditch

* The road leading across the north of England from Newcastle to Carlisle, commonly called the Military Road (which by the way for the most part follows

was then at the side of the road, so as to make it hazardous for travellers; and they have

follows the line of Severus's stupendous wall) passes in the same manner over the tops of a series of eminences. The traveller is always climbing or descending. The road is toilsome beyond measure. The ostensible reason assigned for preferring such a line of road, to one upon a lower level, was that thus defiles were avoided, and ambushes set at defiance; and as the road was particularly made for the conveyance of military stores and baggage across the island, and the march of troops, this was a point, of course, to be mainly guarded against. All this is mere gabble; for supposing that a hostile army were planted in the way, the commanding position which the summit of every hill affords, gives an advantage conveying every benefit which can be desired by military men. I spoke of an *ostensible* reason, not without cause, for it is well known, that it was an object with many men of predominant interest in that country to procure the passage of the road through their own estates. Jobs are not peculiar to Ireland. Englishmen

only discovered within a few years, that the road may be equally well drained by having a small ditch at the back of the bank; which bank, like that in all other countries, would serve as a security to the traveller, and is most particularly requisite in a hilly country like Ireland. It is only on the great mail-coach road that this improvement has yet taken place; the cross roads and others still remain in their primitive state.

Having

lishmen of property are sometimes as dangerous as Irish grand-jurors.

It is difficult to say what kind of wheel-carriages the Roman armies used whilst in Britain. The Watling-street, an ancient road constructed by the Romans, crosses the Military Road at right angles, about three miles north-east of Hexham, and it may be traced in a direct line running, without deviation, over the tops of the highest hills, as far as the eye can reach. It is not to be traversed even by horses without difficulty aud danger.

I have mentioned the town of Castle-Blayney as being central and calculated for a military depot; the situation also suggests some obvious improvements in regard to public roads. It is placed in a central spot, with roads diverging from it like rays from a star. The carriers, on their road to Newry, Dundalk, Armagh, and other towns lying in various directions, must, of necessity, first come to Castle-Blayney, from all quarters of the country, whence they take their departure for the seaport towns, for coals, slates, iron, and merchandize of every description; the result is, that the town is crowded with carts going and returning with merchandize to and from all quarters. Newry is the principal seaport town from whence they fetch all sorts of merchandize to the interior of the country, and they must, of necessity, pass through the town of Castle-Blayney.

The distance, according to a survey which I procured to be taken, to Newry, would be only *twelve* miles, along a level country which passes through a line of vallies, easy of access to any traveller; whereas the present road measures no less than *seventeen* miles, and the carrier is obliged to toil over numerous hills, and descend as many steep declivities. The road, moreover, is in a wretched state from want of repair, no attention being paid to what is really essential; and the unhappy carrier, instead of being enabled to do his work with one horse in a Scotch cart (a mode of conveyance much in use, equal to the draft of from one thousand eight hundred weight to a ton), cannot attempt more than six hundred weight at the utmost:—the consequence is, that the entire commerce and communication of the country is nearly annihilated, and civilization, which always improves

improves by a facility of intercourse with the world, is materially retarded.

In like manner, from Castle-Blayney to Armagh, the distance is twelve miles over a most execrably bad and hilly road, nearly impassable; although there is an excellent level line, that would pass close by several extensive bleach-greens, and through one village of consequence in which many opulent linen-merchants reside. This line also has been measured, and the levels taken at the private expense of the author; and the result was submitted to the grand jury of the county; but the plan did not succeed, although the grand jury admitted that the line was an excellent one. Had they made only eight miles of road, it would have opened a communication between the whole of the north, the north-west, and the north-east of Ireland; thereby introducing wealth, accommodation, and

civilization to an immense proportion of the population of the country.

In one county there has been for years, and still continues, a presentment at the assizes for three hundred pounds for the *Sheriff's Bridge;* which bridge *never existed;* but the presentment was always acceded to by the grand jury as an annual perquisite to the sheriff. In another county, fifty pounds have been demanded, and are so still, at each assizes, for a road that does not exist. But this is a compliment to a great man, who gives it to a constituent, who gives it as a marriage portion to his daughter, who is consequently an heiress, by the presentmeut, to one hundred pounds a year. I understand government has consulted several county members on the subject; it is placing these gentlemen in a very awkward situation, for they must either offend their constituents, or recommend a continuance of the abuse. Thus,

Thus, government cannot be ignorant of these facts; they must know them; and they are culpable in having adopted and succeeded in one beneficial plan (namely, that of sending engineers to take the levels for a mail-coach line), and then stopping short, not having gone farther, and extended the improvement to the principal market towns; thereby rescuing the public from the disgraceful jobs and gross blunders to which they have hitherto been subject, under the controul of interested individuals, who too often compose the majority of a grand jury. Such a measure would do credit to the government, and perhaps be one mean of inducing those who now absent themselves to reside on their estates. Beside, it would open a general communication, and thus tend, as I have already observed, towards civilizing the inhabitants, and at the same

time, it would greatly augment the public revenue by contributing to the suppression of private stills, which are chiefly worked in those parts of the country that are of difficult access

It is not without great pleasure that I have looked into the "Commentary on the Military Establishments and Defence of the British Empire, by the Hon. Colonel (now Lord Viscount) Dillon." I admire particularly that part of his work which relates to the defence of Ireland, in case of an invasion. The principles upon which his Lordship argues are applicable to a grand system of roads, having, it is true, military affairs for their first object; but no less serviceable to the country, by opening a direct communication with the capital, and across the island in two several lines. I will first let Lord Dillon speak for himself, by giving his plan, in his own words, and then

then I will offer a scheme, which, combined with his, will do every thing that is necessary, as far as a system of turnpikes can reach.

In Vol. I, page 195, his Lordship says :—

The outline of the western coast of Ireland gives, as it were, two sorts of bays; the one from Tory Island, off the coast of Donegall, to Urrishead, in the county of Mayo; then a promontory juts out, forming the coasts of Mayo and Galway, as far as Slyne head, where another sort of bay presents itself, from that point to the Blasketts, off the coast of Kerry. These form what seamen call bites; within which it is probable the enemy would wish to anchor, with a view of effecting a landing. The most convenient for their purpose, undoubtedly, is the southern bite, in which is situated the Bay of Galway; but if they could not fetch that, from whichever quarter they arrive, they have three anchorages in the northern bite, *viz.* Killala Bay, Sligo Bay, and Donegall Bay. Nothing but adverse winds could induce them to put in either at Lough Swilly on the north, or Bantry Bay on the south; for then the most practicable plan of military operations after landing would be defeated, or rendered less effectual. Having premised thus much,

and having pointed out the probable approaches to Ireland, we shall next consider where the defences should be placed.

With respect, however, to the skill of the enemy in so calculating, timing, and conducting their maritime expeditions as to escape the vigilance of our fleets, it may be necessary here to say a word. Although by superior prowess, we have so gained the ascendancy by sea, that they will not be able, possibly, for a century to come, to meet us in battle; yet an intelligent people such as they are, knowing well their own strength and weakness, will naturally turn their minds to the consideration of every stratagem that can assure the attainment of their object, which is, to arrive at the most vulnerable point of our shores, with the largest possible armament they can convey, and with the least risk possible. To this end they will exert all their ingenuity and all their nautical skill; for which, superior as we are to them in other things, we must allow them considerable merit, as far as regards the accuracy of their calculations, where they are to make a run without the chance of discovery. In an attempt to effect a landing in Ireland, there cannot remain a doubt but they must be too wise not to put out of their calculation all notions of contending with

us in battle, and to confine their views to a run only; or if they should choose to risk a battle, it must only be of the nature of a false attack by land, purposely hazarded in order to mask a descent.

We have had abundant proofs of the dexterity with which they have contrived to slip out of port, and baffle all the attempts of blockading squadrons to interrupt their voyage; witness their expedition to Egypt, and the difficulty which Lord Nelson experienced to ascertain their track and destination even in so confined a sea as the Mediterranean; and witness too, his celebrated chace of another fleet to the West-Indies and back again. It is true that he destroyed it when he discovered it moored at Aboukir; and that their fleet was again destroyed when he fought his last glorious battle off Cape Trafalgar. We are not here speaking of fighting, but purely of the consummate art which the French have repeatedly manifested, in making a start as our seamen term it, and a run, for any particular purpose.

In discussing the military operations subsequent to the landing of the enemy, we must take it for granted that their first object must be the capture and occupation of Dublin.

Taking a military view of the country, it will appear

pear that this object is most likely to be accomplished with the greatest facility, marching from the west. We may, therefore, according to this hypothesis, consider the west as the frontier of Ireland, and Dublin the point to be manœuvred upon, and that every other operation must be governed by this primary object. Indeed, the seizing the capital of any country invaded is of vital consequence to the enemy. The military occupation of Vienna, Berlin, and Madrid, have all had great influence on the operations of war in Austria, Prussia, and Spain.

But the seizing of Dublin would have a greater influence on the fate of Ireland, because the proportion that Dublin bears in every important point to the other towns in Ireland, is in a tenfold ratio to that of any of the other capitals compared with their respective countries. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the enemy's primary object would be to gain possession of Dublin.

Ireland may be divided into three military districts: the northern, midland, and southern. Considering the conquest of the island to be intended, these several districts would be found to be independent of each other. The most important of these is the midland.—It may be severed from the northern,

northern, by a line drawn from Ballyshannon, in Donegall Bay, through Lough Erne and Belturbet, to the Boyne at Drogheda; which line would form its northern frontier. Another line drawn from Limerick, intersecting Cashel and New Ross, to Wexford, would form the southern frontier of the midland division. All that remains of Ireland, from sea to sea, from Dublin to Westport, in the county of Mayo, will be comprized in the midland division:—of which we shall now briefly treat. The defence of its northern boundary is easy, for Lough Erne protects the western half of it. There are however two lines of communication, which may be guarded by fortresses, at Ballyshannon, Enniskillin, and Belturbet; and then two entrenched camps will be required to keep up the chain of defence athwart the island to Drogheda, which last place is of considerable importance, for it possesses a harbour, and commands the approach from the south to Dublin. To the south, Limerick, Cashel, and New Ross should be fortified.

The boundaries of the midland division being ascertained and defended by fortresses, in its northern and southern divisions, there would only require two fortresses as *places d'armes*, and to contain magazines, which should be placed as near the centre of this division

sion as possible; for instance, at Mallow in the southern, and Dungannon or Hilford in the northern one. Cork should have works for its own protection and its maritime communications; but it can hardly fall within the circle of military operations.

Considering Dublin, then, as the point to be manœuvred on, let us examine from what quarter the enemy would have the shortest route to that capital. It is true that the passage of the Shannon opposes a great obstacle to making progress from the west; yet the difficulty of this passage would be more than exceeded by the greater distance and the difficulties of commencing a line of march either from the northern or southern shore. It may serve as a general rule in the attack and defence of countries, by way of illustrating such operations, to employ two mathematical figures, *viz.* the triangle for the attack, and the circle for the defence; the vertex of an acute-angled triangle being considered as the point to be manœuvred on, and the base as representing the frontier where the line of march commences, which may be denominated the base line of operation, and the two sides form the double line of operation. This theory may receive a practical illustration by referring to the two last Austrian wars. In all former wars, even in the long struggle

struggle between Austria and the French Republic, Vienna was never occupied, because Vienna was not reduced to the situation of the vertex of a triangle. But in the last two wars it was placed in this very predicament, the base line being drawn from Strasburgh through Switzerland into Italy, and the two sides of it forming two lines of operation, coinciding at Vienna, one passing along the Danube through Germany, the other departing from Italy through Styria and Carinthia. Thus experience has shewn us, that this mode of operation has twice succeeded. It has this advantage, that if the power attacked even feels inclined to oppose a line of defence, the further that line is from the vertex of the triangle, the longer, and consequently the weaker, it must be. To form a solid line of defence against such a mode of offensive operation, the party attacked is obliged to give up a great scope of country to the party attacking. There are only two good modes of defence against such a system, namely, lateral fortresses, which place the lines of march and operation between two fires; and corps placed in the centre of a circle, ready to manœuvre upon its radii.

Let us now apply this principle to Ireland. Supposing the descent to be made in the two bays or bites about

above alluded to, that is, in Galway Bay, and Killala, or Sligo Bay, and that Dublin is the point to be manœuvred on; the line drawn between these two bays will be the base of two lines of a triangle, of which Dublin occupies the vertex, or the point where they will meet; the sides will consequently give the shortest routes. We shall here find an advantage in the lateral line of fortresses, which we shall point out. We shall also place great reliance upon a point which may be considered as the centre of a circle, the circumference of which will come into contact with the sides of the triangle; the manœuvres being upon the radii of this circle, have a more certain effect, and form a more irresistible defence than any lines otherwise projected; which, unless they be pointed out by local circumstances and strengthened by peculiarities of situation, must inevitably be forced. To return to the subject in hand, the Shannon forms the old and principal defence, according to the hypothesis we are entertaining, *viz.* that certain towns upon it should be converted into fortresses of the first order, particularly Athlone. The fords and bridges should also be fortified, as well as Galway and Sligo, which must serve for the defence of the two bays.—The Shannon then divides the midland district into subdivisions, the

western

western and eastern. Tuam should be the *place d'armes, dépôt*, and magazine of the western, and Mullingar of the eastern subdivision, being each of them placed in the centre of circles inscribed within the triangle.

The inner defence would be formed by the placing of three intrenched camps; one at the Hill of Cappah, fifteen miles from Dublin, one at Naas, and one at Dunshaughlin; these would appear in the circumference of the segment of a circle, if Dublin were assumed as a centre. A prolix detail on this subject is not necessary. Aptitude of situation may influence much the placing of secondary fortresses; but this being the general outline, it may furnish some idea of what ought to be done in order to complete the plan. It might be a question, whether the sides of the triangle, which we have supposed to describe the line of attack and operation, should not be also fortified? This would undoubtedly lead to a very extensive system, and would comprehend such towns as Birr and Tullamore on the south side, and Longford and Granard on the north; which would indeed render the defence more secure.—We must next consider the tract of country belonging to the midland division.

This division contains, according to the above plan, the whole of Connaught and Leinster; and the

parts

parts to be noticed are those which lie most contiguous to the lines of defence and operation marked out. Immediately within the shores of the Western Ocean, we find a high range of wild, barren mountains, which run north and west from Galway to Killala. Within these mountains, and immediately at their feet to the east, is a chain of lakes, affording as it were a double frontier. These mountains are very thinly inhabited, the valleys, creeks, and bogs are cultivated to a certain degree, but the mountains are totally inadequate to give subsistence to an army; and it is doubtful whether even small independent corps could exist there for any length of time. They, therefore, of themselves present insurmountable obstacles to any attack that the enemy might make on landing between these points, which are situated at the extreme verge of these mountains to the north or south; with the exception of the towns of Westport and Newport. But then the navigation into the bays where those towns are situated is intricate and difficult for large fleets, particularly on account of the numerous islands which they contain. From the margin of these lakes, and from the foot of these mountains to the Wicklow mountains, and indeed extending even to Dublin, is one immense plain, intersected near the centre by the

river

river Shannon. In parts of this plain, the ground presents some few detached small eminences which are cultivated to the top; the plain is well inhabited, but there are in it no large towns. In some parts of the country we find chains of bogs, with a few lakes interspersed; but neither the one nor the other may be said to cover the capital, nor would they much impede the march of an enemy to it. The roads are numerous, and they are very broad and well constructed. They are in fact, causeways running through a deep and marshy country, and so hard that they are practicable at any season of the year for artillery of the largest size, or waggons of any weight. The whole district abounds with provisions of every kind. These roads run for many miles in a strait direction, and often intersect each other at right angles. Out of the roads the country can hardly be passed, its inclosures are so frequent and so strong, and the soil is so deep. The manœuvres of an army here would be much impeded. The ditches are deep, and cast up so as to form proper breast works; and upon every road there are many places where *têtes du pont* might be established to excellent purpose. Cavalry would hardly be of any use here, excepting in small columns, or parties of horse artillery on the roads; or as patrols, of which

great numbers would be required to guard the numerous avenues which occur in every quarter. From this view it follows that it would be difficult to bring on a decisive action here; and the troops which could manœuvre with the greatest celerity must have the advantage. Their operations would be similar to fighting in trenches, or continuous traverses, where the enemy is hardly ever seen. Here could be no imposing masses, no brilliant charges of cavalry, no regular deployments from moveable columns; but a war of great fatigue to the troops, constant surprizes, and occasional captures of prisoners. In this species of warfare, it is evident that the more active and light the equipments of the infantry are, the greater will be their advantage in the field; but, above all, this proves that no system of defence can be better than that of fortified towns; for the cavalry of those who defend the country would be of little avail, and they who attack suffering a like inconvenience, the occupation and possession of fortified places must of course turn the scale in our favour.

It would not be expedient to be too explicit in detailing the probable marches of an enemy upon their landing in Ireland; or upon making an hypothetical campaign there, which was the original destination of this

this chapter: but from prudential motives the distances of marches have been omitted, as well as the manœuvres of attack and defence. Enough has been said to draw the public attention to the probable route of the attacking army; to the establishing of fortified towns; to the army's assembling on the Shannon; to the disputing the passage of that river; and to the powerful opposition which may be made to the enemy's operations, upon such a plan of campaign as has been laid down, by the lateral pressure of columns on his line of march from the north and south. These are all general principles, and convey no local information that may prove a guide for an enemy to go by. All we suppose is the descent upon the base or extremity of a triangle described on the map, and the manœuvres to bear on the vertex, were Dublin is situated. The defences must be placed with a view to such a supposition; but whether these defences be fortifications or troops in their cantonments, the circumstance of the moment must decide. Indeed it would be a useless display of knowledge of the local peculiarities of Ireland; for to mention the probable points of defence, or to describe the country minutely and incidentally, would be to furnish a military memoir for the use of the enemy. This may therefore be a sufficient

apology for suppressing much of the matter intended for this chapter, which was to give the detail of a probable supposed campaign, with all the distances, positions, and points of rendezvous of the troops, from whatever quarter the enemy should be supposed to land, as well as the probable effect that such an event might have upon the people. In all likelihood, the modes adopted by the enemy to ensure the conquest of the island, and to maintain their dominion, would not depend upon any violent popular effervescence of the moment, but would be the result of a settled plan of action, arranged and agreed upon before the commencement of the expedition, and calculated either to conciliate the hearts of the people, or to compel them to promote the views of the invaders by means of terror, when they might judge it proper to throw off the mask. Of this we may rest assured, that the enemy can have no intention of seizing upon Ireland for the benefit of the Irish people. His sole object must be to distress Great Britain, by making himself master of that part of the United Kingdom, and therefore none would profit by the change, except a few such as are to be found in every state, more ambitious than honest, more enterprizing than capable; some people of this sort might possibly be raised to the dangerous

and

and precarious enjoyments of momentary honours and wealth; honours stained with the blood of their countrymen, and wealth wrung from the hands of an enslaved people: subsequent calamity would be accumulated upon present misery;—wrongs would be inflicted, but no rights would be restored; and the noble plan of nature in forming the insular empire of the north, which is now the mistress of the seas, and, by the development of its military resources, may hereafter become the arbitress of Europe, would be either marred or destroyed!—*(June* 1, 1811.*)*

Here we see two lines described from west to east, one from Ballyshannon to Drogheda. and the other from Limerick to Wexford. Regarding still the fortresses and the defence of the country, I would propose constructing capacious roads of the first class, with bridges, &c. as near as convenient to those lines. Of course the line along Lough Earne would be abandoned for the nearest parallel suitable for a road. And, in addition, I would recom-

mend the making two roads running longitudinally from the south to the north of Ireland. One might commence at Crookhaven, and passing through Limerick and Iniskillin, end at Londonderry; and the other commencing at Waterford and passing through Carlow, Athboy, Castle-Blayney, Armagh, Belfast and Antrim, might end at Colerain, or be continued to the Giant's Causeway. In many places, roads are already made in the requisite directions. But the great object would be *the operating on a system*, the only way worthy of a great nation. This would put an end to all the paltry artifices of grand jurors. It would be for the interest of all local districts to open easy communications with the main roads. I admire the improvements now carrying on in the inland navigation, but there is a doubt with many men whether the system of inland navigation may

may not be carried too far. *Our coasting trade is the first nursery for seamen in the world.* I knew a London merchant, of great experience, who felt greatly alarmed at the rage for canals which has taken place in England. His arguments are all applicable to Ireland. Let us employ our labouring classes in making roads, and draining bogs of Ireland, and we shall soon rank high in civilization; tillage will increase; men's food, in ample quantity, will be produced; our population need not pass the sea to gather in the harvests of other lands,* they will find employment enough at home; and we may become, if we choose, an opulent and a contented, and consequently a happy people.

Before quitting this chapter, the author wishes to apologise for saying so much of

 himself

* I have not taken into the account the melancholy results of emigration to America.

himself and of his intended residence; he simply quotes this as an example, being satisfied that abuses exist to an equal, if not to a much greater extent, in every part of the kingdom of Ireland. He flatters himself that his hints may be of use towards correcting them, and his plans serviceable to the improvement of the country.

CHAP.

CHAPTER XV.

Miscellaneous Remarks concerning Ireland.

ALTHOUGH it is the fashion to abuse Napoleon Buonaparte (and he certainly deserves great blame, and I would neither assume the office of his apologist or censor, generally), yet I leave it to the candour of travellers who have been in France previously to his dominion, and since his abdication, if they have not found the country in all respects, most materially improved. During his government of France, we heard of no massacre of Protestants, such as we read of with horror, to have occurred at Nismes. The author had a letter from France giving a detailed account of that bloody

bloody transaction, three weeks previous to its appearing in a public print, which clearly indicates either a want of energy on the part of the government, or that some part of those connected with the government secretly encouraged that atrocious act. Nothing could be more splendid than I have seen the Court at the Thuilleries during Buonaparte's government; as a good politician, he was perfectly aware that the French, as well as mankind in general, look up to, are pleased with, and have a great respect for style, grandeur, or magnificence. Take human nature in the abstract, we are all nearly alike; education in many, gives an ascendancy, but talent and information have not the twentieth part of that imposing effect which is found in equipage, magnificence and spectacle. Buonaparte was so perfectly aware of this fact, that in one day he dismissed twenty-

twenty-eight prefects and forty-seven sous-prefects from their situations; and the reason given was, that they were economists, and did not expend the sum allotted by government, to support the dignity of their situation.

How seriously different is the system in Ireland; personal economy is the order of the day. Not one of the constituted authorities, from the highest to the lowest, expends the income destined by the government, and liberally granted by the parliament and the people to support respect for the situation.

Whoever goes to Ireland is sent to economise, and make provision for a family, in which they are in general certain of success in the course of a few years; totally indifferent, it appears, as to the interest, and at the expense of that unfortunate country.

Let

Let any person walk at night through the streets of Dublin, and look at the lamps; they are lighted indeed, if we can so call it, but the glasses are never cleaned, and they shew only a sufficiency of light to cause embarrassment. Look at the dirt of the streets; in short, look at every thing which you see around you, and it distinctly marks a total neglect and indifference on the part of those who pocket immense salaries, — neglecting the duties of their situation. If a general officer be placed on the staff in Ireland, it is not because that general officer has distinguished himself in the field, or because he possesses local information, or has influence in the country, but he is sent there to improve his income, and in a few years, to accumulate sufficient provision for himself and for his family.—If a Bishop be sent over to Ireland, economy is his text—in many instances,

instances, that economy is carried to penury; and we have the most striking examples of Bishops on the Irish establishment, having accumulated sums beyond all conception, for a country so circumstanced.

These abuses and want of support of their character and situation, on the part of those who hold large endowments and emoluments under the authority of the Crown, not only create on the part of the people, a disrespect for those to whom they should look up with awe and veneration — but it also makes them despise the laws themselves, and they frequently break out into violence, murder and outrage.—So frequent of late have been the murders committed on Protestants, merely because they were Protestants and loyal, and the indifference manifested on the part of the government to these atrocities has been

been so revolting, that many of the fine, proud and loyal Protestant yeomanry, once the protection and the ornament of the country, are now emigrating in numbers to America; and the extortion of the landlords will cause all that is worthy the name of *people* to desert the country with their property, and nothing will remain but those cut-throats and assassins, who will ultimately triumph.

It is curious to observe that a revenue officer, owing to the former relaxed system of government, is empowered by the late Act of Parliament, to examine into the interior economy of a family, even so far as to demand admission for the purpose of inspecting the contents of a lady's toilette and wardrobe; where, should he have discovered a smelling bottle in which there might appear the smell of spirits possibly resulting from a bad composition of lavender water,

water, the good lady and her family on that account are subject to severe fines and penalties.

Fortunately in Ireland, discoveries that may be frequently made in a lady's toilette in France, are unknown, or they might otherwise appear in an aukward situation. It is hoped, however, that the legislature may devise some more delicate mode of investigation.

Nothing could be more mischievous than the pusillanimous and unguarded act of the British government in issuing an order for all soldiers to choose their respective places of worship, in Ireland, and attend them at pleasure.

The consequence was, the greater part preferred going to a Roman Catholic chapel; because, there, after divine service, they would meet the dissolute and depraved, in order to drink whiskey, with a chance

of

of imbibing the pernicious doctrines which they may, and can hardly fail to receive, from the lowest, the most vile, and the most degraded of his Majesty's subjects.

The soldiers never entertained a thought, otherwise than that they were to attend divine service according to the rules of the established religion. The author commanded a regiment for many years; every non-commissioned officer and soldier went regularly to church; they never hesitated, nor was it a question that entered into their ideas, until informed of it by the sagacity of a general officer.

The effect has been that the very best men in the regiment were corrupted: order, morality, discipline, and regularity, for which they had been previously conspicuous, were set at defiance, and through the influence of the priests and the example received from their flocks, the best behaved

and

and the most exemplary men for good conduct in the regiment soon became the worst. Ferdinand VII. the modern prince of blockheads, never could have been guilty of so fatal an error as to divide and sow discord in his own army, by means of dividing them on religious opinions; or, as it is called in England, toleration Had not this fatal measure been acquiesced in, the Roman Catholic soldiers would have seen the world in a different point of view; their ideas would have been expanded; and on their return home, they would have by their conversation instructed others, their friends and relations, who had not the same opportunities... Whereas now on their return home, the soldier is laid hold of by the priest, who counts him, during his absence, a lost child. No influence or exertion on his part is wanting (in which he always succeeds) of bringing him back to nearly his

former state of bigotry and ignorance. The same influence dissuades the Roman Catholic soldiers of the militia from entering into the line, and not one in five volunteered that would otherwise have offered themselves, had not the government been persuaded to adopt that pernicious measure.

It will be said that the Irish soldiers fought well abroad;—they have ever done so abroad, because they are removed from the influence of their priests; and they have never fought well at home, because they were under the control of that influence.

The late facility of creating forty-shilling freeholders, is a sad misfortune, as I have already observed; it opens a door to perjury, debauchery, and every vice.

In England they will say, look to a pot-walloping borough, and they will wisely argue for a whole nation from the case of one town. In England, although it is an evil,

evil, it is not one of vital consequence to the state, that corruption and vice are confined to the population of an individual village or town; moreover in England they are more enlightened, and they know where to stop, and how to manage their conduct; neither have they that inflammatory spirit called whiskey, to rouse their passions and impel them to riot and disorder.

These comparisons therefore are inadmissible; these forty-shilling freeholders are created by the subdivision of farms into small cots, which is of itself seriously pernicious.

A wretched peasant of that description has no capital to improve his land; he has no horses, nor any means of husbandry: the consequence of which is, he takes a crop each year out of his land, such as it is, and both he and the land keep pace,

by each becoming annually and daily more and more impoverished.

The peasant marries, hoping that from his having a farm, he may have the means of supporting a family; to which measure he is most particularly advised by the priest, whose profits are much increased by multiplied christenings and marriages. A large family is too often the consequence;—the children are nearly naked when young; when they grow up, they have received no education, the farm is again subdivided to support this offspring; they have scarcely enough to support existence; the priest irritates and inflames their minds, by saying tithes are the cause of this grievance, and, that all their calamities and misfortunes are created by English ascendancy. It is therefore naturally to be expected that tu-

mult,

mult, disorder, rebellion and robbery, should be the certain consequences.

To remedy this evil no farm ought to be less than fifty acres. The landlord should see that the person to whom he lets land, should have good horses, and implements of husbandry to cultivate that farm, and the needy population which now disturb Ireland would reside in villages or towns, carry on manufacture, and by being confined to a smaller space they would be immediately under the control and superintendance of the law. Landlords have in some instances adopted this plan with great effect. If the landlords have not energy to act for themselves an act of Parliament should pass to ascertain the size and extent of a farm, for it would be most advantageous to the state, likely to alleviate the miseries of Ireland, and by introducing manufacture and industry into the villages and towns, the popu-

lation which is now the curse of the country, would soon be the source of its wealth and prosperity.

As the Union is now established, the jealousy which exists between the invidious distinction of English, Irish, and Scotch, might in some measure be removed by the appellations of North, East and West Britain.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Roman Catholics.

THE author now comes to the most serious of all serious questions which have occupied the attention of the most able statesmen, caused more bloodshed than all other causes combined, and have been the means of bringing desolation and misery on the most innocent, and on the most inoffensive of the human species, namely, religious dissentions. Under these circumstances, he offers his opinion with much deference; but as it is certain that the Roman Catholic religion in Ireland has been the chief cause of retarding the civilization of the inhabitants, and has been the

means of keeping them barbarous and ignorant, while the rest of the world has made rapid strides in every sort of improvement; he will make such observations as in his judgment may tend to lighten or to remove the calamity.

This subject cannot strike any one to be so light and simple in its principle as many seem to suppose. Whoever observes the prodigious and over-ruling influence of religion upon the first and dearest interests of society in a mere human sense, must allow that as far as temporal and secular ends are involved, it ought to be under the control of the civil magistrate.

It has been so in the greatest and most flourishing states, and was so in the Western Empire itself till the ambition of the Popes prevailed over the power of the Emperor, in the dark ages. Where it is absolutely dominant, it has been always pernicious

pernicious in its effects upon civil society, of which we have a stiking example in the histories of Spain and Portugal; of the former particularly since the restoration of Ferdinando Septimo, and in the revival of the Inquisition. Nor is there any spot of territory in so wretched a condition in all Europe as the States of the Church; there ecclesiastical tyranny rules unchecked, and the pestilential air, exhaled from the marshes surrounding Rome, is destructive to strangers who sleep but for a night in those deleterious districts, and breathe the mortal miasmata with which the atmosphere is loaded.

If any person reads the history of Ireland, since the liberal and well intended indulgences granted by government to the Roman Catholics, commencing in the year 1793, he will perceive that there has been a constant scene of ungrateful resistance to the

the established government, and that previous to these concessions, the Roman Catholics in the north, were reading their recantations so rapidly, that had it not been for that incautious measure, Ireland would in all likelihood have been by this time a Protestant country. It is lamentable to remark that the renewed discussion of the Roman Catholic question in almost every annual session of parliament, has encouraged sedition and turbulence under the name of the hope, or the pretence, of obtaining what is speciously called emancipation.

Let any one read the resolutions and the speeches of the Catholic committees which assembled under various denominations in Dublin, and judge of their object. Under the sanction of the Board, as it was called, in order to support the cause of Catholic emancipation, subscriptions were raised,

or rather impositions were levied at the Romish chapels on the unfortunate peasantry, who have been fleeced (being mere dupes to these artifices and their contrivers,) for the emolument and convenience of a set of designing men; and Government, although they constitutionally suffer the repeated discussion, or renewed debate, year by year, in the House of Commons, must be aware that, in the present extreme ignorant and bigotted state of the Irish Roman Catholics, were they in possession of power or authority, it would soon be abused; and power and authority are what they mean by emancipation, for they have long been in possession of complete toleration, and may worship God in their own way, according to the dictates of their conscience. The Government should recollect the observation made in the time of James the First, and on examination they will

will find the Irish Roman Catholics, at the present day, less enlightened, more bigotted, and more ignorant than the people were at that period. The observation I think originated with Bishop Sanderson —" a generation, " says he, " whom no " favour will oblige, nor kindness retain; " whom nothing but supremacy will con- " tent, and the most absolute authority " can gratify; whom nothing can secure us " against, but sufficient power, or great " industry, or constant watchfulness, and " scarcely all."

The indulgences already granted, have created infinite mischief, for in the southern counties at elections, there generally starts a candidate who professes, in order to impose upon the people and make them serve his purposes, to support the Roman Catholic claims, and his opponent stands on the Protestant interest; and this has the effect

effect of keeping alive religious animosity; the most violent party disputes are excited, and law and good order are set at defiance. Does not this point out the dangerous consequence that would have resulted had parliament acquiesced in their late demands? Had the right of sitting in parliament been conceded, whoever started as a candidate would in that case have been a Roman Catholic; no other could have stood the least chance of being elected, and the mob would have returned to parliament a member, who, in all probability, would have had no talent, no education, or any recommendation, but merely his being a Roman Catholic, and a man of democratic principles. Such a measure would cause disturbance, riot and confusion unexampled; neither would it, in fact, prove of serious service to the Roman Catholics themselves; for they would gain no solid

advantage

advantage by the measure; they would merely be the dupes of ambitious or designing men.

The following Resolutions were entered into by the Roman Catholic Prelates at a meeting held in Dublin on the 23d and 24th of August 1815.

Resolutions of the Catholic Prelates.

At a meeting of the Roman Catholic Prelates of Ireland, held in Dublin, on the 23d and 24th of August, 1815, the following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to;—

The most Rev. Dr. KELLY, President.

Resolved—That it is our most decided and conscientious conviction, that any power granted to the Crown of Great Britain of interfering, directly or indirectly, in the appointment of Bishops for the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, must essentially injure, and may eventually subvert, the Roman Catholic Religion in this country.

Resolved—That with this conviction deeply and unalterably impressed on our minds, we should consider ourselves as betraying the interest of that portion of the

the Church which the Holy Ghost has confided to our care; did we not declare most unequivocally, that we will at all times, and under all circumstances, deprecate and oppose, in every canonical and constitutional way, any such interference.

Resolved—That though we sincerely venerate the Supreme Pontiff as visible Head of the Church, we do not conceive, that our apprehensions for the safety of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, can or ought to be removed by any determination of his Holiness, adopted, or intended to be adopted, not only without our concurrence, but in direct opposition to our repeated Resolutions and the very energetic Memorial presented on our behalf, and so ably supported by our deputy, the most Rev. Dr. Murray; who, in that quality, was more competent to inform his Holiness of the real state and interests of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, than any other with whom he is said to have consulted.

Resolved—That a declaration of these our sentiments, respectful, firm, and decided, be transmitted to the Holy See, which, we trust, will engage his Holiness to feel and acknowledge the justness and propriety of this our determination.

Resolved

Resolved—That our grateful thanks are due, and hereby given, to the most Rev. Dr. Murray, and the Right Rev. Dr. Milner, our late deputies at Rome, for their zealous and able discharge of the trust reposed in them.

(Signed)—*Oliver Kelly*, President. *Richard O'Reilly. J. T. Troy. Thomas Bray, Cashel*, (Proxy.) *P. Everard, Coad. Cashel. D. Murray, Coad. Dublin. Pat. Jos. Plunkett, Meath. William Coppinger, Cloyne. Thos. Costello, Clonfort. Charles Sugrue, Kerry. John Power, Waterford. Charles O'Donnell, Derry. John O'Flinn, Achonry. Peter Waldron, Killala. James O'Shaughnessy, Killaloe. Farrell O'Reilly, Killmore. P. Ryan, Ferns. Charles Tuohy, Limerick. G. Plunkett, Elphin. John Murray, Cork. Patrick M'Cullen, Down and Connor. Kyran Marum, Ossory. Peter M'Loughlin, Raphoe. James Murphy, Clogher. Edmund Derry, Dromore. Mich. Corcoran, Elect. Kildare and Leighlin. James Maugauran, Elect. Ardagh. Edmond Ffrench, Warden of Galway.*

Can

Can any thing more plainly speak the sentiments of the hierarchy, than these resolutions do? They tell you, that neither the power of the Pope, nor the British government, shall rescue the people of Ireland from the despotic power of the Roman Catholic clergy. The British government has hitherto been sadly imposed on; it now remains to be proved, whether it has energy sufficient to rescue such a mass of population from the most tyrannical, the most disgraceful, and the most dangerous influence that is possible to exist in a state so circumstanced as Great Britain and Ireland.

Much has been said, and very loosely, of the relative numbers of Protestants and Roman Catholics in Ireland. Mr. Newenham swells the numbers of the latter beyond all measure. The Roman Catholics themselves, in speaking of their numbers,

plainly betray that they are influenced by something else besides truth. They sometimes magnify the Popish population extravagantly, when the purpose is to combat the Protestant ascendancy; and again, they sometimes affect to rate it at a lower rate than they ought, upon pretence of giving the less alarm to the government and legislature, and thus diminishing the sense of danger that might arise from the repeal of the few remaining restrictions upon Papists. It is difficult to obtain unsuspicious *data*, upon which a fair calculation may be erected. There is an honest book, I believe—(bating a little partiality in favour of Scotland, which is natural enough in the compiler)—I mean the compilation called Guthrie's Geographical Grammar. Guthrie gives the number of Protestants and Roman Catholics, as they stood in the year 1733, as follows:

Province

	Protestant Families.	*Popish ditto.*
Province of Ulster.	62,620	38,459
Leinster. ..	25,238	92,424
Munster. ..	13,337	106,407
Connaught.	4,299	44,133
	105,494	281,423

Now, in 1733, party matters did not run high. Nobody could then have believed that the restrictions on Papists would have been relaxed in the degree that they now are. They were, at that time, in numerous instances, recanting and conforming to the Established Church; and but for removing the disabilities which the wisdom of our forefathers laid them under, their numbers would have suffered considerable diminution. Guthrie estimates the general population at 2,015,229 souls. "I am apt to think (says he) when we consider the waste of war by sea and land, and the vast emigrations of the Irish to Britain,

British colonies, and other nations, that the above calculation may nearly serve for the present times [I quote from the edition of 1777], *though the balance of number is certainly greatly risen on the side of Protestantism;* and in some late debates in the Irish Parliament, it has been asserted, that the number of inhabitants of Ireland amounts to three millions." Now the relative proportion, according to this statement, is *better than two, and less than three to one,* in favour of Papists. There seems no reason to conclude, that the proportion has greatly varied. Papists and Protestants, it is natural to suppose, have increased in a like degree, except indeed a deficit may exist on the part of the former, owing to the celibacy of their clergy.

I will now give the opinion of a very sensible writer, who published a small pamphlet on this subject (printed for Watson,

son, Dublin) in 1812. The author of that little work will be pleased to find his opinion corroborated by the above reasoning. "On a superficial view (says *Clericus Dromorensis*, for that is his *nom de guerre*) of Ireland, the provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, forming three-fourths of the kingdom, will be set down as entirely on the *Roman Catholic side;* and Ulster will probably be divided in this view, between the two persuasions; let the matter, however, be more minutely scrutinized, and Ulster will be found to contain *nine* out of *thirty-two counties*, with a population nearly equal to *one-third* of the whole kingdom; and may be put down entirely on the *Protestant side.* When it is said to be entirely on the Protestant side, I know it may and will be asserted, that in every county of that province, there are many Roman Catholics: this is admitted;

but at the same time, it must also be admitted, that many of the counties reputed as entirely Roman Catholic, contain as great a proportion of Protestants, as the counties of Ulster contain of Roman Catholics; it is a well known fact, that in Connaught, the counties of Sligo, Leitrim, and Mayo, have a very large proportion of Protestants; and in Leinster, the counties of Wicklow, of Carlow, and of Wexford, are similarly circumstanced; and to these must be added in Munster, the county and city of Cork; and that in every other county, besides in every considerable, or in every middle-sized town, a great accession of Protestants will be gained, to which must be added what the county and city of Dublin contain. With respect to the latter, a strong fact shall be produced; in the House of Industry, a well-known receptacle for beggars of all denominations, it appears that during

six

six years, ending in 1789, there were admitted, of Protestants, 6,313; of Roman Catholics, 17,816, not near three to one; and as the property of the former is much the greater, the number of paupers must assuredly lie on the Roman Catholic side; so that they do not exceed in a proportion of more than five to two: if then, in the city of Dublin, heretofore looked upon as nearly Roman Catholic, and situated in the midst of Roman Catholic counties, a fact is brought forward which shews the Protestants to be outnumbered as only five to two, what reliance can be placed on those who affirm that throughout the kingdom they are as only one to six? It is, therefore, going no further than facts will warrant, to say, that there is a Protestant population in Ireland, amounting to near, probably to more than one-third of the whole. But to place the matter in a light

still more clear, let the province of Ulster again be resorted to, which with truth may be assumed as entirely Protestant (allowance being made for the Protestants in the Roman Catholic counties, to balance the Roman Catholics in the Protestant counties), and the account will stand thus:—In Mr. Bushe's enumeration of houses, made in 1791, and taken from the hearth-money returns at that period, when every house was liable to the tax, and which certainly has more claim to accuracy than any other return on the subject of Irish population hitherto made, the number of houses in all Ireland, was 701,102; in Ulster, 222,879, nearly a third of the whole, which from the former statement making the whole amount of that province Protestants, will reduce the Roman Catholics from five or six to one, to *two to one*, or probably to a smaller proportion; and on this calculation

tion the more reliance is to be placed, if the statement is reverted to which was made by Dr. Burke, titular Bishop of Ossory, in his *Hibernia Dominicana*,* published in part in 1762 and 1772, who scarcely reckons the Roman Catholics before this period, as two to one; and who, of course, would not be inclined to under-rate those of his own persuasion; and as there does not appear to be any physical cause why the Protestants should not proportionably multiply, therefore, to whatsoever number the total of inhabitants may amount at the present day,

* In his Hibernia Dominicana, printed in Brussels, in 1762, it stands thus:

Nomina Provinciarum.	*Numerus Protestantium.*	*Numerus Papistarum.*	*Numerus Utrorumque.*	
Conacia....	21,604	221,780	243,384	Juxta Al-
Lagenia....	203,087	447,916	651,003	manachium.
Momomia..	115,130	482,044	597,174	
Ultonia....	360,630	158,028	518,660	

day, they must be supposed to preserve their due proportion."

There has been a strange propensity to magnify the number of Papists and lessen that of Protestants in Ireland; and I believe the reader will derive no small information from the following passage in this very able pamphlet, to which it forms part of an Appendix.

From the mass-house in the parish of Drumara, county of Down, there is not another place of worship of that denomination, as far as Donaghadee in the same county, a distance of twenty-six miles at least, through the most populous and richest part of Ireland; nor is there one from Donaghadee to Portaferry, a distance of fifteen miles through a country equally populous and rich.

The great parish of Drumbo, in the Archdeaconry of Down, has scarcely one Popish family in one hundred, though it contains near one thousand families.

The parish of Anahilt, in the diocese of Dromore, according to a return made to Dr. Percy, when bishop of that diocese, was found to contain not more than eleven

eleven Roman Catholics in a population of between two and three thousand. Numerous instances could be given in the counties of Armagh and Antrim, as well as in Down, where the Protestant numbers equally preponderate.—One instance shall be mentioned of a parish in the county of Antrim, running into the mountains where the body of the Roman Catholics of that county lie; and even in it, from the most accurate account, taken by the minister of the parish, they are exceeded by the Protestants nearly as six to one. The parish is Ballintoy, on the north coast.

In the whole province of Ulster, which contains more than three millions of Irish acres, there is so little landed property in the hands of Roman Catholics, that it scarcely deserves to be mentioned. Nor is their property in trade by any means considerable; in the town of Belfast there is not one Roman Catholic merchant; in Newry not more than three of any eminence.

I have caused application to be made to a gentleman of acknowledged abilities and great information on Irish affairs, for his opinion on this subject. I transcribe his letter,

letter, and I am sorry that I am not at liberty to divulge his name.

The enumeration of Newenham is certainly outrageous! but I should conceive, balancing the presbyterian population of the North against the Popish (exclusively almost) population of the South, I cannot imagine the preponderance in favour of the Roman Catholics, to be so great as some suppose. The "Statement of the Penal Statutes," &c. calls it ten to one—this is foolish, false, and malignant. It is certainly sufficient to turn the scale too effectually; but from observation I have been enabled to make myself, and to collect from wiser observers than I pretend to be, I cannot believe the Papists to be more than five to three and an half, that is, ten to seven. You will understand, that I do not calculate this, according to the members of the Established Church only, as the Statement insidiously does—but in reference to all who are not Papists, including Methodists, Presbyterians, Quakers, &c.

Take this, however, with you, that although the population is numerically Popish in its majority, we have much the advantage in property; yet this avails little, in consequence of the fatal folly of the Irish legislature in granting the elective franchise to Roman Catholics;

Catholics; an unpardonable error, inexcusable in them; but which might have been forgiven to an English senate, accustomed only to the modern franchises of this country. The forty-shilling freeholds in Ireland, have completely thrown property into a minority, since there are at least twenty of those freeholds for one of any value: making freeholds is a system in Ireland, and ever has been so since the fatal year 1793; it has been applied most indefatigably to all the purposes of Popery, and wielded by the priests who command every vote. Will you believe that two counties in Ireland, Cork and Tipperary, have more electors than all the counties of England? This is an evil which must be remedied; if neglected, we shall never be free from Popish petitions. The truth is, that while the county members of Ireland, are returned by a Popish population, they will and must obey their Popish constituents—and thus our senate will be incessantly besieged with Roman Catholic petitions. How is this to be remedied? Simply thus,—by either repealing the Irish Act of 1793, so far as relates to the elective franchise, or by increasing the election qualification to twenty pounds instead of forty shillings.

The

The want of an adequate definition of the word *emancipation*, leads one to conclude it to be no more than merely a word made use of by the turbulent and seditious, as a lever to lift themselves into power. It is a dangerous party-cry, which has succeeded to *parliamentary reform*, which for a while created confusion, until it became stale, and lost all power of excitement. Neither would there be any security in the present dark and ignorant state of the people, tools as they are under the mischievous policy of the priests, whose sole view it seems to be to keep their flock under despotic control, contrivances suited to rivet the chains of bigotry and superstition. Can any thing be more powerful than the influence they possess over the human mind in Ireland, where you will see Roman Catholics associated with Protestant servants at the same table,—and when good roast beef

beef and boiled mutton are placed before them every day during Lent, they dare not touch it, neither dare they taste meat on Fridays and Saturdays, throughout the year? Shew me a dog that can be better trained and broke in to his master's voice. Mr. Astley's high-mettled racer is perfect in his way, but nothing equal to the Irish Roman Catholics under the unrelenting tuition of their imperious priests. In some districts, and on some occasions, Lents are so rigidly kept, that the priest will not admit the indulgence of a salt herring or fish, if the people can procure it; but in the midst of comfort and of luxuries, the unfortunate fellow of a servant is obliged to content himself with oatmeal or potatoes.

With such powers over the human mind, to what purposes cannot the same influence direct the exertions or powers of the body? and is it not reasonable to suppose that the

priests

priests cannot be friendly to a government from whom they derive neither protection or support? On the contrary, they are always regarded with suspicion, and the members of the government, they, retroactively, consider as heretics. At the time of the Union, it was said to be Mr. Pitt's intention to have the clergy of every persuasion paid by the treasury, and for the government to receive the tithes, and the emoluments of the established church; the bishop and the clergyman of each parish to receive the full value accruing from the usual sources, reciprocally, or parish, during his incumbency; but on the death of the bishop or clergyman, the successor of either was to be allowed a stated sum—such as might be judged equal to support the dignity and respectability of his situation.

It is however to be presumed that as the dioceses and parishes in Ireland much exceed,

ceed, both in extent and emolument, those in England, that there would have been a reduction in the income of the established church, so as to allow to the clergy of other denominations a competent stipend. Had this plan been by this time acted upon, government would have been in the receipt of an annual income, sufficient to provide liberally for the clergy of every sect or description. Bishops at the time of the Union, whose diocese did not produce more than 4, 5, or £6000 a year, are now in the receipt of 12, 18, or £20,000, from their being most of them *union bishops.*

The inferior clergy, such as rectors and vicars of parishes, receive in most instances, since that period, at least three or four times the income which they possessed, owing to the increase of agriculture. I know personally a clergyman whose income was, at the period of the Union, only £600 a

year, and the same living is now worth £2,800. In fact, the clergy of the established church in Ireland have preferments enormously lucrative, which have increased, and are daily increasing in value more rapidly than any other description of property.

Had this plan of Mr. Pitt's been acted upon, the Roman Catholic clergy, as well as the Presbyterian, would now have been in the receipt of a considerable annual income from the government; enlightened and intelligent priests would have been appointed, whose prosperity would have been identified with the prosperity of the state, and who would have adopted means suited to instruct and to enlighten their flocks; who, on their parts, from having a good example before them, would have soon become loyal and respectable subjects. But no;—it was supposed to be placing too much influence at the disposition of the crown;

crown; which mode of reasoning was in a great measure unfair, for the crown has of late had its influence much diminished, although the wealth and the power of all other classes have been augmented. The jealously of the established church had great weight also in preventing the adoption of that salutary measure which would have been the means of civilizing and of improving the natural faculties of a people, who, from their ignorance, at present, are incapable of reasoning, the slaves of prejudice and error, and consequently they know not how to estimate the value either of political or civil liberty. Had this grand object been accomplished, the question of Catholic Emancipation would have come fairly forward for the consideration of Parliament; whereas the papists are not yet ripe for the exercise of power; they are but in a state of vassalage and tutelage.

Never land presented more capabilities than Ireland. Arts, manufactures, commerce aad agriculture, may be carried to any enviable pitch, if the country be not wanting to itself. It seems to lie under a spell. The only energy discoverable is that of party and religious contention. Had patriotism a like influence, it is hard to say what might be the result. Closely united to an opulent country, there can be no want of capital; and with capital there is nothing that may not be achieved. The Oriental world is now open to Irish enterprize. The monopoly of the English East-India Company is ended. Every part of the British dominions may now have its full share in that abundant source of wealth. Bristol and Liverpool already have resort to it. Why may not, why should not Cork and Dublin partake of it? But I believe our soundest policy will be to employ our industry

industry and capital at home in the first instance. What a noble field is open to us in the draining of the bogs of Ireland! Parliament has caused them to be surveyed; their depth is measured, the height of their bottom above the level of the sea is ascertained, and so is the subsoil, which, consisting of calcareous matter, for the most part, is of all others the best adapted to agricultural purposes, and particularly the cultivation of bogs. I have looked at the Reports which have been made by the Commissioners for Draining Bogs in Ireland, in pursuance of an order of the House of Commons. It appears that the highest part of the bog of Allen averages 284¼ feet above high-water mark in the bay of Dublin, and the lowest 238¾ feet above the same level. The possibility of drainage is therefore no longer a doubt. The prodigious extent of the bog of Allen,

which consists of several parts, (particularly Lullymore bog, Timahoe bog, the bog of Mouds, and Clany bog), may be conceived, on reference to the map of Ireland, by this circumstance, that a part of the water of Timahoe bog " is discharged into the sea at Drogheda, and another part below Waterford." I know not whether the first Report can be perfectly understood without the engraved plan which accompanies it, in the splendid work delivered to Parliament; but I cannot resist the temptation of extracting this interesting state paper. At any rate it will convey a very good idea of the measures that have been taken, and communicate several points of valuable information, in which the reader will find that many vulgar errors are met and refuted by facts.—[See Appendix]

Having now set forth the actual state of Ireland, it is obvious that while the plan, which

which is now acted upon, continues, that the country may improve, if there be a correspondent earnestness in the government and in the people.

I beg leave, before I conclude, to make a few observations respecting Mr. Griffiths' Lectures on Geology, and upon the interesting and important subject of the mineral abundance which Ireland possesses. There is no one who hears Mr. Griffiths' lectures who must not feel satisfied and assured, that Ireland contains unwrought stores of physical wealth, practically accessible to the most ordinary industry, and competent, by a proper application of them, to alter the condition of her poorer inhabitants; to exchange wretchedness and filth for comfort and cleanliness; to elevate the general condition of the people; to extend opulence, and to give a firm moral feeling to the country, such as would make her the

boast of the empire, and the admiration of the world. From the natural riches and mineral stores lavished upon this island, under the auspices of a good administration, the condition of society may receive prodigious benefit; and it is consoling to the country to be informed, that in consequence of the indefatigable labours, and the scientific knowledge of Mr. Griffiths, it is ascertained beyond a doubt, that Ireland, from north to south, from east to west, contains a series of coal-mines to an immense extent, and of a quality for use, whether for manufacture or for comfort, superior to what Great Britain affords. Mr. Griffiths has analysed the different species of coals which extend from the north of the county of Cork through Clare, and the coals of what they call the Connaught mines, to the extremity of the county of Antrim, and also of those which spread

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from the east coast through Kilkenny and the Queen's County to the west; and the result of the analysis he has made, has decided the superiority of the Irish coal, especially in the counties of Roscommon and Trone. All those fears, entertained by the vulgar, concerning the destruction of the turf and peat of the bogs, are therefore wholly groundless.

How long are we to remain in darkness and in ignorance? how long are we to neglect those amazing sources of public wealth which have not been opened up since the creation? I call upon the people of England to read and seriously to consider the statement; it is founded on facts, which I have committed to paper from my personal observation and recollection, and arranged, when removed from the scene, to a retired part of Wales. I call upon the noble and

philanthropic

philanthropic societies who have associated for the promotion of virtue, and for the suppression of vice, to enquire and to participate, by all the means in their power, in an endeavour to rescue so large a component part of the British Empire from destruction.

The author, in making these remarks, has the confidence to say, that they are perfectly disinterested; and that, whether at home or abroad, his fortune and his life have been devoted to the interest of the British Empire, particularly Ireland.

Let there be no more sporting with the feelings of the unfortunate Irish peasantry.

How is it possible for human nature to resist the various temptations thrown out, leading them into riot and excess?

On one side you will see a party haranguing them, so as to irritate their passions

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in a political point of view; or a priest keeping them in ignorance, and instigating them to do wrong; while, on the other, spirituous liquors of the most inflammatory sort are exposed to their view; and many persons representing grievances that do not exist, in order to instigate, irritate, and goad them to resistance and rebellion. In fact, there is every temptation that can possibly be imagined to induce the peasantry to do wrong, and no good council or advice to counteract these mischiefs. We are not, therefore, to be surprised that the lower orders are neither tranquil or civilized.

I am sometimes inclined to compare the temptations held out to mislead the Irish peasantry, to those of St. Anthony; and on that account it is to be regretted that St. Anthony was not selected as the tutelar saint of the island, instead of St. Patrick;

Patrick; but as many of my readers may not be acquainted with the particulars concerning that saint, I shall here beg permission to relate a short account of his life and fortitude.

St. Anthony first instituted the monastic order. He was born in the year 251, and, after spending some time in various situations, he shut himself up in solitude. He re-appeared in the year 312, in order to assist the Christians then suffering for Jesus Christ. He afterwards returned to his monastery, where he performed several miracles. He then retired to a cell at a monastery within a day's journey of the Red Sea; he lived a long time in solitude, but came out now and then to visit his ancient disciples; and, in the year 335, he made a visit to Alexandria, at the particular request and desire of Saint Athanasius,

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for the defence of the faith. He was all his life zealous in the persecution of heretics, and decidedly hostile to the Manichees and to the Arian sects.

In his first retreat, he set an example to all solitary monks of after times. He applied himself to prayer, and to the discovery of evangelical truths. He was attacked and persecuted by a variety of temptations, which he resisted by abstemiousness and austerity. In his second retreat, he was visited and harassed by a multiplicity of devils, in various frightful and extraordinary shapes; some endeavouring to tempt and seduce him with pleasure, others by force; but his constancy withstood all. He died in the 356th year of Jesus Christ, on the 17th day of January, aged one hundred and five years. His life has been written by Saint Athanasius;

Athanasius. For further particulars, I refer the reader to Dupin, and other compilers of the Lives of the Saints. The temptations of St. Anthony have occupied the pencils of Breughel, Hemskirk, and many painters, but above all, the *burin* of Callot.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. I.—Vide Page 103.

To His Grace Charles Duke of Richmond, &c. &c. &c. Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland.

The Fourteenth Report of the Commissioners for inquiring into the State of all Schools, on Public or Charitable Foundations in Ireland.

May it please your Grace,

We the undersigned Commissioners, appointed for inquiring into the several Funds and Revenues granted by public or private Donations, for the purposes of Education, and into the State and Condition of all Schools upon Public or Charitable Foundations in Ireland, beg leave to submit to Your Grace, the Result of our anxious Deliberations on the subject of extending and improving the Education of the lower orders of the People in this part of the United Kingdom. We have not been deterred from entering upon this subject by the difficulties peculiar to this Country, with which we are aware it is attended; and we have been anxious, as early as possible, to meet the expectations of Your Grace and the Government of Ireland, whose solicitude on the subject of a Plan for the general Education of

the lower orders of the People of Ireland, to be suggested by this Board, was evinced in the Letter addressed to our Secretary on the 17th day of January 1811, by Your Grace's late principal Secretary, the Right Honourable William Wellesley Pole.

We have applied our efforts to the framing of a System, which, whilst it shall afford the opportunities of Education to every description of the lower classes of the People, may at the same time, by keeping clear of all interference with the particular Religious Tenets of any, induce the whole to receive its benefits as one undivided Body, under one and the same System, and in the same Establishments.

That the present Establishments for the Instruction of the lower orders, though extremely numerous, are inadequate as a system of general Education, we were fully convinced in the course of our Inquiries into their extent and condition: and their insufficiency, we have reason to believe, is very imperfectly supplied by the unendowed Schools, though their number appears, by the Returns made to Government in the year 1808, to bear as great a proportion every where to the population, as in most other parts of the United Kingdom; so that if they were duly attended to, and under the care of Masters properly qualified, the lower orders of this Country would have less reason, perhaps to complain of their Education being neglected, than those of England, or even of Scotland itself; at the same time we are encouraged by this circumstance to hope, that if a Scheme for such improvement were judiciously planned, and carefully executed, it would meet with very gene-

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ral success, from the favourable disposition, and strong desire for Instruction prevailing universally among those to whom the means of obtaining a more complete and effectual course of it would thus, we may presume, be not more frankly offered, than cordially accepted.

That such will be its acceptance we shall indulge the more confident expectation, if all interference with the particular Religious Tenets of those who are to receive that Instruction shall in the first instance be unequivocally disclaimed, and effectually guarded against. We conceive this to be of essential importance in any new Establishments for the Education of the lower classes in Ireland, and we venture to express our unanimous opinion, that no such Plan, however wisely and unexceptionably contrived in other respects, can be carried into effectual execution in this Country, unless it be explicitly avowed, and clearly understood, as its leading principle, that no attempt shall be made to influence or disturb the peculiar Religious Tenets of any Sect or description of Christians: How a strict forbearance from any such attempt may be rendered consistent with a considerable degree of Religious Instruction in general, we trust may appear in the Sequel of this Report, to the proper subject of which we shall proceed to solicit Your Grace's attention, after a short recapitulation of the subjects and substance of the Reports which we have already presented, and a Review of what may be considered as the present state and extent of the several provisions for the Education of the lower classes, as deduced from those Reports, and from the Returns of the

un-endowed Schools already alluded to; observing, however, that to these must be added a considerable number of Roman Catholic Seminaries in various parts of Ireland, particularly in great Towns, supported principally, we believe, by Bequests, private Contributions, and Subscriptions, but of which we have not any accurate Returns.

The principal objects of the Inquiries in which we have been employed may be reduced to two Heads. The Schools endowed for Classical Education, and those endowed for gratuitous Education, in Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic only; in many of which Schools the children of the lower orders are not only educated, but clothed and maintained.

Of the former description some are of Royal Foundation, some under the Board of Erasmus Smith; Twenty are endowed in the same number of Dioceses, under an Act passed in Ireland, in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth; and about fifteen were founded by the munificence of private individuals.

The Schools of Royal Foundation are those of Armagh, Dungannon, Enniskillen, Raphoe, Cavan, Banagher, and Carysfort, the united Endowments of which amount to £5,800. per annum, and the number of Scholars taught in them at the time of making our Report, to about 360, but of these very few are instructed *gratis*, there being a general reluctance to accept of such a favour.

The Classical Schools under the direction of Erasmus Smith's Board are those of Drogheda, Galway, Tipperary, and Ennis, the united endowments of which

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may be estimated at £1,000 per annum, and the number of Scholars at the time of making our Report upon them was 277.

The Diocesan Schools are, those of Tuam, Ardagh, Cashel, Kildare, Down, Connor, Leighlin, Ferns, Elphin, Meath, Limerick, Ardfert, Killaloe, Derry, Dromore, Cork, Ross, Clogher, Cloyne, and Ossory; the united Emoluments of which amount to about £820. per annum, and the number of Scholars to about 428.

The Classical Schools of private foundation are in number about Fifteen, the most important of which, those of Navan and Ballyroan, were the subject of our Second Report, to which, as we are unwilling to repeat it, we beg leave to refer; on the remainder, as we have very recently laid an Account of them before your Grace, in our Twelfth Report, we think it unnecessary to enter into any detail.

Under the Second Head above mentioned of Schools for the Education of the lower classes, we shall beg leave more especially to state herein the principal Establishments for that purpose, as they are more particularly connected with the subject of this Report. They are, the Protestant Charter Schools, the Blue-Coat Hospital, the Foundling Hospital, the Hibernian School, and the Marine School, besides those of private foundation, amounting in number to about Sixty, as appears in our Thirteenth Report, and which we deem it unnecessary to recapitulate here.

In the Charter Schools, Thirty-nine in number, 2,251 Children were, at the time of making our Report

upon those Institutions, lodged, clothed, maintained, and educated at an average expence of 13*l.* 4*s.* each, and on a very strict Inquiry, in the course of which all those Schools were visited and examined, under the direction of this Board, by most respectable Persons, it appeared, as we had the satisfaction of reporting to your Grace, that they were in a flourishing state, the Education in them efficacious and practical, and in every respect such as put it beyond the reach of private defamation or public censure.

In the Blue-Coat Hospital we found that 130 Boys were maintained and clothed, instructed in English, Euclid, Navigation, and various parts of Practical Mathematics, in which several of them had made very considerable proficiency, and they receive, besides, a religious education.

This Institution is under the direction of the Corporation of the City of Dublin, and the expence amounts to about 16*l.* per annum, for the clothing and maintenance of each Boy, to which, if the expences of the Establishment be added, it will give an addition of 8*l.* per annum for each Boy.

The Foundling Hospital, designed principally to save the Lives of those Children who would otherwise perish in consequence of the poverty or the profligacy of their Parents, receive Infants from the time of their Birth, provides them with Nurses in the Country, and at a certain age receives them back, and maintains, clothes, and educates them, till fit to be apprenticed; the Average Number of Infants admitted yearly being upwards of 2,000, and the very great care taken of them having diminished

diminished the Mortality incident to the age, and the very unfavourable circumstances under which they are brought to the Hospital, about Four hundred will annually return, at the age of eight years, to the Institution, to be educated; accommodation for 1,600 should therefore be provided, with Funds adequate to their support, even on the supposition that so great a number as 400 can be annually apprenticed from it, and that too at the early age of Twelve Years.

The Establishment denominated *Wilson's* Hospital was founded by a Gentleman of that name, who bequeathed Estates, producing at present upwards of 3,000*l.* per annum, for the Maintenance of a certain number of Old Men, and of a number of Boys, not exceeding 150. The Estates of this Charity will soon rise very considerably, and the Trustees will be enabled to increase the number of Boys, which at the time of making our Report amounted to 107, and to extend the Plan of Education, so as to render this Institution eminently useful.

The Hibernian School, which is supported principally by Parliamentary Grants, and which was instituted for the maintenance and education of the Children of Soldiers, contains 300 Boys, and half that number of Girls, and affords to that destitute Class the protection which is so justly due: this establishment is soon to be considerably augmented, and to receive such Improvements as will render it in every respect complete.

The Hibernian Marine School, supported also by Parliamentary Grants, was designed for the purpose of maintaining and educating the Children of Seamen,

and contained, when we made our Report, only 110 Boys, though there are Accommodations for 160; and on this Charity, so important to a Maritime Country, we have been obliged to make a Report to your Grace, which we are unwilling here to repeat, and which we hope, were an Inquiry now to be instituted, it would be in our power to alter to one more satisfactory.

Thus it appears from the Reports which we have already presented to your Grace, that there are 33 endowed Classical Schools in Ireland, (besides several others of private foundation, which are mentioned in our Report, No. 12,) the united emoluments of which amount to about 9,000*l.* per annum, and the number of Scholars educated in them to nearly 1,000.

And that, exclusive of the Parish Schools, in the City of Dublin, and of other Schools in different places, supported by private Endowments (which latter we do not here recapitulate, as they are contained in our Report, No. 13,) there are 44 Public Establishments for the Education of the lower classes, in which upwards of 4,200 Children are lodged, maintained, cloathed, and educated, at an annual expence of about 70,000*l.*

In the course of the various and very extensive Examination which our inquiries into the Management of those numerous Establishments have led us into; we beg leave to assure your Grace, that we have anxiously sought to obtain such Information as might enable us to submit to your Grace, an accurate Account of the nature and extent of the Instruction, which the Schools frequented by the Children of the lower classes in this Country

Country usually afford, and of the effect upon the Principles and Morals of that important part of the Community likely to be produced by the Education received in them; directing our attention especially to such circumstances as might indicate the most practicable Improvements, and the manner in which they may be attempted with the greatest probability of Success.

The most important facts with which we have become acquainted in the course of these Inquiries, we now beg leave to lay before your Grace; and to submit the outline of a Plan, which we conceive to be calculated to extend to the lower classes such Education as is suited to their station in society, so far at least as seems to us attainable in the present circumstances of this country.

Returns have been communicated to us from 17 Dioceses out of the 22, into which Ireland is divided; and from them it appears, that, exclusive of the Charitable Institutions, there are 3,736 Schools in these Dioceses, in which are taught 162,467 Children; of which number 45,490 are Protestants, and 116,977 Roman Catholics; of the Schoolmasters, 1,271 are Protestants, and 2,465 Roman Catholics.

Hence we collect, as these Dioceses may be estimated to contain four-fifths of the Population of Ireland, that the whole number of Schools (including the Parochial Schools) amounts to 4,600, and the Scholars taught in them to 200,000, being an average of 43 to each School; and as these Returns were made generally in the winter, when many Children are unable to attend, and as itinerant Schoolmasters (whose number

is very considerable) are frequently not included in them, we are confident that more than 200,000 Children of the poorer classes receive annually such sort of Instruction as those Schools afford.

That Instruction, except in a few instances, extends no farther than Reading, Writing, and the common Rules of Arithmatic; and the prices paid are on an average Ten Shillings per annum for Reading, Seventeen Shillings and Four-pence, where Writing, and One Pound Six Shillings where Arithmetic is added: But even this limited Instruction the Masters are in general very ill qualified to give, having been themselves taught in Schools of a similar description, and consequently deficient in Information, unacquainted with regular plans of Education, and unaccustomed to that discipline, from the steady and temperate enforcement of which some of the best advantages of Education are derived.

The poverty of the lower classes of the people, which limits the recompense of the Masters to the low rates above mentioned, and thus holds out no temptation to a better class to undertake the office of Instructors, produces effects if possible still worse, by incapacitating them from purchasing such books as are fit for children to read: whence it frequently happens that instead of being improved by Religious and Moral Instruction, their minds are corrupted by books calculated to incite to lawless and profligate adventure, to cherish superstition, or to lead to dissension or disloyalty.

From the facts here stated, we conceive it clearly to appear,

appear, that the lower class of the people in Ireland are extremely anxious to receive Instruction for their children, even at an expense, which though small, very many of them can ill afford; and there is a circumstance to which we beg leave to call your Grace's attention, that puts this desire in a yet stronger point of view,—We mean the existence of *Evening Schools*, established (and in one parish there are Eleven of them) for the instruction of those children whose service during the day their parents could not afford to lose.

Were it therefore even admitted that the benefits of Education are not to the lower classes of the people as great as we conceive them to be, yet the necessity of assisting in obtaining it for them in this country would not be diminished, but increased; for such Education as has been objected to under the idea of its leading to evil rather than to good, they are actually obtaining for themselves; and though we conceive it practicable to correct it, to check its progress appears impossible,—it may be improved, but it cannot be impeded.

To substitute for the ill-taught and ill-regulated Schools which we have been describing, a systematic and uniform Plan of Instruction, such as should gratify the desire of Information, which manifests itself among the lower classes of the People of Ireland, and at the same time form those habits of regularity and discipline which are yet more valuable than mere learning, it appears to us neeessary, that Commissioners should be appointed, with extensive powers, as we shall more fully describe in the subsequent parts of this Report.

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With respect to the selection of these Commissioners, it does not appear to belong to us to enter into any particular suggestions,—that on their abilities, liberality and prudence, and on the general confidence to be placed in them, the success of the plan will depend, we deem it almost superfluous to remark.

We recommend that, in the first place, those Commissioners be instructed to apply to the Governors of all the existing Establishments for the Education of the lower classes, wherever the information which has been received by us shall appear to be insufficient, and to require from them, Returns of the several Institutions over which they preside, such as may enable them to ascertain in what Districts Supplementary Schools, to be put under the direction of Protestant or Roman Catholic Masters, as the circumstance of the case may render eligible, are most immediately necessary, which Schools the Commissioners should be empowered to found, to endow, and to regulate.—The check which the existing Schools would receive, were the superintendence of them to be transferred to the proposed Commissioners,—the difficulty of changing long-settled Establishments,—and the waste of time to the Commissioners, who would be much more profitably employed in forming new Seminaries, than in altering old ones,—induce us strongly to recommend, that the Institutions which now exist should remain under their present managers; and that the spirit of improvement already manifested among them should be left to operate undisturbed, under the influence of that emulation

lation which the new Establishments would naturally excite.

For the purpose of ascertaining more exactly the number of those Supplementary Schools,—for selecting proper situations for erecting and establishing them where wanted,—for prescribing the mode of Education to be pursued,—and for the general superintendence of them,—we are of opinion, that a Board of Commissioners, as above-mentioned, should be appointed, under the authority of an Act of Parliament, empowering them to receive and dispose of Parliamentary Grants for building and endowing Schools,—to purchase or accept Conveyances for the Sites of such Schools,—to decide, in the last resort, on the appointment, conduct, and dismissal of Masters,—to prescribe the course and mode of Education,—to provide for the expense of furnishing Books,—and to have a general control over the whole of the proposed establishments for the Instruction of the lower classes.

The first object which we would recommend to the attention of this Board would be, as we have already mentioned, to ascertain from the information which they will collect, as well as from the Examination of that already in our possession, in what situations it may be proper to proceed to the establishment of Supplementary Schools. It may at this early period be premature to attempt to form any estimate of the expense of founding and endowing such Schools, as the number that may be required can be but vaguely conjectured; we may however be allowed, from a view of the scale upon which the Governors of Erasmus Smith's

Schools

Schools are now proceeding in the foundation of similar establishments, and which seems to have been adopted on sufficient consideration, to estimate that each School would be a charge on the Government of about five hundred Pounds for building, exclusive of the purchase of Sites, and an annual Salary of £30. for the Master of each.

Some time, perhaps, must elapse, before the Commissioners can have procured the necessary information, to prepare them for entering on the part of their duty we have been last describing. But that interval may be most usefully employed in forwarding a measure of the highest importance to the success of any plan of National Instruction, we mean, that of preparing a sufficient number of Teachers, competently qualified to convey that instruction; we have already adverted to the deplorable want of such qualification in a great majority of those who now teach in the common Schools, and to the pernicious consequences arising from it; their ignorance, we have reason to believe, is not seldom their least disqualification; and the want of proper books often combines with their own opinions and propensities, in introducing into their Schools such as are of the worst tendency. Even for Schools of a superior description, and under better control, there is a general complaint, that proper Masters cannot be procured without much difficulty; and we are persuaded, that a more essential service could not be rendered to the State, than by carrying into effect a practicable mode of supplying a succession of well-qualified Instructors for the children of the lower classes.

classes. It fortunately happens, that there are in this country existing establishments, as well Roman Catholic as Protestant, which, we are persuaded, might with little difficulty give effectual assistance towards this great national purpose. This the Commissioners would find no difficulty in arranging with the Governors of the several Institutions. In such arrangements, and indeed in the whole of this part of the scheme, much will of course depend upon the discretion of the Commissioners, and we recommend that they should be directed and required to apply themselves immediately to the preparing a sufficient number of well-qualified Masters, to undertake the conduct of such Supplementary Schools as they should from time to time proceed to endow; the progress would naturally be gradual, and time would thus be allowed for competent Masters to be prepared for them.

In their choice of situation for the Supplementary Schools, the Commissioners should be directed not solely by the apparent necessity for them, from the want of proper, or of any Schools, but partly by the facilities afforded for a proper establishment for the Master, and partly by the prospect of their succeeding to such a degree as to hold out example and encouragement for their farther progress and success.

We are willing to hope that in Schools thus advantageously situated, the general adoption of, and a steady adherence to, a Course of Education manifestly superior in all its mode and objects of Instruction, and uniting a careful attention to Moral and Religious Principles, with an evident purpose of respecting the peculiar

peculiar Tenets of different Sects of Christians, would excite at first in their immediate neighbourhood, and by degrees in every part of Ireland, a strong prepossession in favour of such Establishments, and effectually obviate any prejudices that might have been entertained against them.

During the period in which the Commissioners may be employed in the preparatory Inquiries already alluded to, their attention may also be directed to the selection of proper Books for the use of all the Schools under their management; it being our Opinion, that nothing should be taught in any of them, without the express approbation of the Commissioners, nor any Book introduced, which has not been sanctioned by them; and from the execution of this part of the Plan we anticipate advantages of the utmost importance to the whole Country, inasmuch as we cannot doubt, that the Books thus prepared will, by degrees, be universally adopted in every School, whether public or private: and while Education is thus facilitated by an uniform System of Instruction, the evils arising from the want of proper Books adapted to the inferior Schools will be removed, and the Children no longer exposed to the corruption of morals and perversion of principles too often arising from the Books actually in use.

In such selection of Books for the new Schools, we doubt not but it will be found practicable to introduce not only a number of Books, in which moral principles will be inculcated in such a manner as is likely to make deep and lasting impressions on the youthful

youthful mind, but also ample extracts from the Sacred Scriptures themselves, an early acquaintance with which we deem of the utmost importance, and indeed indispensable in forming the mind to just notions of duty and sound principles of conduct.

It appears to us that a Selection may be made, in which the most important parts of Sacred History shall be included, together with all the precepts of morality, and all the instructive examples by which those precepts are illustrated and enforced, and which shall not be liable to any of the objections which have been made to the use of the Scriptures in the course of Education.

The study of such a Volume of Extracts from the Sacred Writings would, in our opinion, form the best preparation for that more particular religious Instruction which it would be the Duty, and we doubt not, the Inclination also, of their several Ministers of Religion to give, at proper times, and in other places, to the Children of their respective Congregations.

To enter into a minute detail, or to define the limits of the Instruction to be given in those Schools, or the manner in which it ought to be communicated, we deem not within our province, but to belong to the duty of the Commissioners, whose appointment we have proposed, as the first step towards establishing a better System of Education for the Children of the lower orders of the people: at first we reckon that Instruction will be confined to Reading, Writing, and the common Rules of Arithmetic, taught at different prices, and with a free option to the Parents to have their Children instructed in one or all of them. Time and

experience will determine the expediency, and the means of giving, to such as may desire it, a more enlarged course of Education, and of providing for those whose talents may deserve it, that Instruction which their poverty might place beyond their reach: But we are of opinion, that more advantage will at present result from giving a limited Education to a considerable number, than from providing a better system for a few, particularly as Masters qualified for the latter purpose could scarcely be procured; and we anticipate, as the first and most certain fruits of the appointment of these Commissioners, the selection and publication of a number of Books for the use of the Schools which they shall establish, a prompt and liberal supply of which to the Schools at present in existence will produce immediate and beneficial effects.

Having thus laid before your Grace the result of our deliberations, we beg leave to represent to your Grace, that it seems most expedient to make a trial, upon a limited scale, of what is here proposed, and to suggest, that the Commissioners above mentioned should at first proceed to erect only a small number of Schools in different parts of Ireland, upon the plans that have been recommended in this Report, trusting that such an experiment will throw new lights upon the subject; will tend to promote what may be generally advantageous, and correct the errors which unavoidably attend new institutions.

In concluding this subject, we conceive it may be satisfactory to your Grace, that such papers, communicated to the Board by its Members, as contain more detailed circumstances applicable to the subject of

General

General Education, should be added as an Appendix to this Report; not meaning, however, thereby to indicate any approbation of their Contents further than has already appeared in this Report.

Having arrived at this advanced stage of our labours, we think it an act of indispensable justice to bear testimony, in the strongest manner, to the zealous exertions of our Secretary, John Corneille, Esquire, from whose indefatigable pains, capacity, and accuracy, we have derived very efficient services towards the accomplishment of our multifarious inquiries.

We have not found it necessary to use the powers given by the Act establishing this Board, of appointing a second Secretary, inasmuch as Mr. Corneille has devoted his time for years in assisting our complicated investigations with the most willing application, and the most exemplary fidelity.

We consider the small salary of his office as a return altogether inadequate to his distinguished services; and as this has been a great national undertaking, we beg leave earnestly to recommend him to your Grace's notice, in order that he may obtain from the Government some permanent appointment, as an adequate reward for his past services.

(Signed) WILLIAM ARMAGH, (L. s.)
CHARLES CASHEL, (L. s.)
JA^s KILLALLA, (L. s.)
ISAAC CORRY, (L. s.)
THO^s ELRINGTON, Provost, (L. s.)
RICH^d LOVELL EDGEWORTH, (L. s.)
JA^s WHITELAW, (L. s.)
J. LESLIE FOSTER. (L. s.)

Dublin, 30th October, 1812.

Letter from the Right Honourable Henry Grattan, to the Secretary of the Board of Education.

Welbeck-street, March 25th, 1811.

SIR,

I HAD the honour to receive your letter, written by the commands of the Board of Education, expressing their desise that the absent Members of that Body should communicate by letter their plans on the subject of the education of the poorer orders of the people of Ireland.

In obedience to the wishes of the Board I venture to submit what I do not presume to call a plan, but instead of one, a few ideas founded on that plan which the Legislature has already recommended.

I would pursue the suggestion of the Act that established Parish Schools, with such alterations as must arise from the change of time, circumstances, and condition.

According to that Act, I would recommend Parish Schools as bringing education to every man's door; but Parish Schools better endowed than the present, and on a more extensive, and by far a more comprehensive, foundation.

And I would submit, as a proper subject matter of education in those schools, not only the study of the English tongue, reading, writing, and arithmetic; but also the study of certain books of horticulture and agriculture, together with treatises on the care and knowledge of trees.

I would recommend that such studies should be pursued in the English schools already established.

I would

I would recommend that in those Parish Schools the Christian religion should be taught; but that no particular description of it should form a part of their education—in the place thereof, it might perhaps not be improper to devise some general instructions regarding the four great duties of man,—duty to God, duty to one another, duty to the country, and duty to the government.

I beg to add, that one great object of national education should be to unite the inhabitants of the island, and that such an event cannot be well accomplished, except they are taught to speak one common language:—I think the diversity of language, and not the diversity of religion, constitutes a diversity of people. I should be very sorry that the Irish language should be forgotten; but glad that the English language should be generally understood; to obtain that end in Ireland, it is necessary that the schools formed on a plan of national education, which teach the English language, should not attempt to teach the English religion, because the Catholics who would resort to our schools to learn the one, will keep aloof if we attempt to make them proselytes to the other; and we should by that attempt reject one great means of uniting our people; and we should continue to add to the imaginary *political* division, supposed to exist in a difference of a religion, a real *political* division formed on the diversity of language.

I have the honour to be
Your most faithful servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

Letter from Richard Lovell Edgeworth, Esq. to his Grace the Lord Primate.

My Lord,

In obedience to the Resolutions of the Board, I offer to your Grace the result of my reflections on the Education of the Poor of Ireland.

I am thoroughly sensible of the importance, and as fully sensible of the difficulty of the undertaking.

The public expectation has been much excited by the appointment of this Board, by the respectability of its Members, and by the prudent silence which it has hitherto preserved. Enthusiasts imagine that some extraordinary scheme may be devised which shall at once change the views and the habits of the Population of Ireland; while others, aware of the difficulties which occur on every side, despair of our being able to effect any material Improvement in the present modes of Education, and smile at those who turn their attention to such a hopeless inquiry. It should, however, be recollected, that within half a century a prodigious improvement in the manners and habits of this country has taken place; and it seems evident, that this improvement has arisen from the better Education of every class of its people; there are more Schools, there are better Books; and the private advantage of some degree of Literature is more generally understood than formerly. For one person that could read or write twenty years ago, there are now twenty; and the same advancement in every species of Knowledge may be perceived in every city, and every village in Ireland.

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If this has been the case, under the present modes of Instruction, which are obviously defective, is there not just reason to suppose that a more rapid and extended benefit may be obtained by a better system?

There are, however, I am well aware, persons who altogether deny that any improvement in the People has resulted from their having had more education. There are persons who oppose the instructing the poor, even in the elements of literature, because, say they, if the poor are taught to read, they may read what is hurtful; on the same principle we might as well object to the appetite for food, because poison may be swallowed instead of wholesome nutriment. That pernicious books are now read in the present Day-Schools of this country, is certain, but this arises from the negligence of those who superintend these Schools, and who do not put proper books into the hands of the children. Does any rational being imagine that there is an innate or unconquerable propensity in the human mind for reading only "the Spanish Rogue;" or "the Adventures of Captain Frene?" Put good books (I do not mean merely religious books) that shall entertain and instruct them, into the hands of the children of the poor, and they will soon form a taste that must disdain such disgusting trash. To prevent the circulation of what is hurtful the utmost care should be taken in selecting Books for Schools, and none should be introduced without the sanction of those by whom the Masters are chosen; but in the meantime it must always be a sufficient answer to those who object to teaching the rudiments of knowledge to the poor, that

of Three thousand Boys, who have been educated at the Sunday Schools in Gloucester, but one has been convicted of a crime: that of Four thousand educated at Lancaster's Schools, not one has ever been brought into a court of justice; and that the humane and observing Akerman, who was sometime ago keeper of Newgate, asserted, that not one person in a hundred of the prisoners who had learned to read and write, had been executed during the time that he had been governor of that prison.

To attempt to controvert such facts by declamation, by assertion, or by the mere opinion of individuals, is merely beating the wind. It is true, and it is fresh in our memories, that in the progress of the last rebellion in this country, those who could read and write were at first employed to inflame and direct the rest; but there is good reason to suppose that this happened from there being but few that could by writing carry on the schemes of the disaffected; and that the pre-eminence and temporary consequence which these fellows acquired from their being able to read and write, was the cause of their being more easily induced to disaffection: but this would not have happened could numbers have been found who had the same means of becoming useful to their leaders; and we may further observe, that these *Scholars* were then taught a useful lesson, which cannot be easily forgotten; they found, that when brought into action more ignorant and more desperate men took the lead, and the scholars felt that they were neglected and despised.

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It has been said, that a Gentleman, to whom the world is much indebted for a large share in the late improved methods of teaching, I mean Dr. Bell, has given it as his opinion, that arithmetic is not a necessary part of early education. I am obliged to declare an opinion that is precisely contrary to this—if it were necessary to dispense either with reading and writing or with arithmetic, I should rather dispense with the two former than with the latter. I think it was Swift, who, when he was asked what the Irish nation needed most for its improvement, replied, "to learn that two and two are four."

I consider arithmetic as the most instructive science that can be taught to children. It is the first occupation of the youthful mind that disciplines it to think with accuracy; and whoever has learned the common relations of numbers, whether he has learned by the eye, or by the ear, has made an advance in accurate reasoning that cannot be so easily or so certainly attained by any other process that has been yet discovered. The names of numbers, and the figures which denote them, are symbols by which a perfect system of induction is carried on by the understanding, and whoever has once acquired a clear notion of this mode of reasoning may advance gradually to the most difficult problems in every human science.

Arithmetic is not only the most certainly useful, but the most securely safe, acquirement, for the lower ranks of the people; from books, if ill chosen, they may learn error; from the relations of numbers nothing can be extracted but truth.

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I do not know on what grounds arithmetic can be objected to, except on the truly Popish principle, disavowed, indeed, by all liberal Catholics, that the people should not be taught *to think*.

This principle is as dangerous as it is illiberal; for it is in these days absolutely impossible to prevent the people from thinking.

The progress of knowledge has spread now so far that it cannot be stopt without destruction to those who attempt to arrest its course. The people will read, and will think; the only question that remains for their governors is, how to lead them to read such Books as shall accustom them to think justly, and thus make them peaceable subjects and good members of society.

We must next examine whether the difference of religious creeds, and the animosities of party prejudice, can be so far reconciled as to permit the adoption of any general system for the instruction of the people. It is not intended that Protestant Masters shall interfere with the religious instruction of Catholic children; and it is still more vain to suppose that among a number of Catholic masters none could be found who would endeavour to teach what they believe to be salutary truth to the children of Protestants committed to their care.

There is but one method that appears to me practicable in this state of things; to let Protestants appoint Masters for Protestant children, and Catholics choose Masters for their own Schools. The obvious objection that arises against this scheme is that it draws a line of demar-

demarcation between the two sects, even during childhood,—that it separates Catholics and Protestants; and that it avows a deep suspicion and jealousy which ought not to exist between members of the same society. But this theoretical objection must give way when we consider that this separation can last *but a few hours* daily; that these very children will converse and play together promiscuously: and that this temporary separation must prevent comparisons and jealousies that naturally arise where contending sentiments and contending interests may be exposed to collision. In another point of view, this temporary separation, far from tending to estrange the sects, will, by showing distinctly that there can be no scheme to undermine the speculative opinions, create confidence among the parents and the clergy of the Catholics. The clergy, and in particular the superior clergy, will find themselves treated with the consideration which is due to Ministers of the Gospel, whatever may be their particular creeds, where their lives are not in contradiction to their professions; nor is this mere *ostensible liberality*, a word that has been of late degraded; but it is fair-dealing; an expression somewhat more homely, but not less significant.

There are many places in Ireland where Protestants and Catholics are taught to read and write, and to say their respective catechisms, by Catholic Masters,—there are on the contrary other places where every attempt of the most enlightened and benevolent people has failed to collect the children of Catholics under a Protestant Master; but in most places it has been observed,

served, that where no particular circumstance has arisen to awaken religious animosity, or well-founded suspicion, the best teacher, whether Catholic or Protestant, soon attracts all the scholars, and the inferior master is obliged to give way; and it is obvious that in all cases *where the two sects agree, there need be no separation,*

There are persons who think that the allowing Catholic bishops or Catholic clergy to have any share in the superintendance of Schools is unsafe, and that it is a degradation of the dignity of Protestant clergy to act along with them. How this opinion can be made consistent with the clerical character, or with that Christian charity for which all the Ministers of the Gospel ought to be distinguished, I cannot imagine; of this I am certain, however, that such an opinion can never in a political point of view be safe or prudent. It can never be good policy to degrade the Ministers of the Catholic religion in the eyes of the people, whose consciences they are to direct, and whose morals they are to form.

Having now fairly stated the principles on which I would found any attempt to improve the national education of this country, before I further explain my plan, before I suggest any thing new, I think it necessary to say that I would not undo any thing that has been already done; that I would not, for the chance of making it better, destroy any good that actually exists.—As the enlightened and eloquent Burke observed, those are rash and ignorant reformers who begin by the destruction of existing establishments,

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especially of those intended for the education of youth. In such establishments which time and custom have consolidated, even though they may not be the most perfect of the kind, yet there is always to be found a *power*, what the workman calls a *purchase*, of which the skilful legislator can avail himself, and which he can apply to useful purposes.

Far from wishing to destroy what has been already done—far from wishing to abolish the Parish Schools, I am thoroughly convinced of their utility; and I hope that the bishops of the Established Church will exert their just authority with respect to the Parish Schools; and that the stipend payable by the incumbent of the parish should be raised to at least six-pence in the pound upon the clear income of his living,—that a general fund should be made of these contributions, so that it may afterwards be appropriated to the wants of different Parish Schools. Each parish should be obliged to keep in repair such School-houses as have been already built, and should be obliged to build where Schools are by the present laws appointed to be kept. The regulation of these Schools, I think, should be left entirely in the hands of the clergy by whom they are supported; upon their prudence and good sense the people must depend for their being administered with liberality.

Beside these Parish Schools, I propose that a number of new Schools should be established. These I would divide into two classes, Preparatory and Provincial. From the Preparatory Schools, which should be day-schools, I would have a certain number of boys selected from

from time to time, and draughted into the Provincial Schools, where they should be clothed, lodged, boarded, and instructed, for two, or perhaps three years at the public expence.

Thus a considerable number of boys, of the best conduct, and of the best abilities, would be taken from the ranks of the profligate and ignorant, and would be indissolubly attached to the laws and government of the country. I would begin upon a small scale, and would feel my way through the obscurity and difficulties in which the subject seems to be involved. In the first place I propose, that proper slated houses should be built for these Schools under an intelligent inspector, who should take substantial security for the execution of the work, and for its being kept in perfect repair for twenty years.

Of the Preparatory Schools, I propose that about thirteen hundred should be established, that is to say, about forty for each county in Ireland; and sixteen Provincial Schools, four for each province. These schools should be erected, not at precise distances from each other, but in such places as should suit the population of different districts.

The masters of these two classes should be Protestant or Catholic, according to the prevailing religion of the place where they are built. The greatest care should be taken in the choice of these masters, and they should be removed immediately upon a report of ill conduct made by the inspectors, or upon such information as the Commissioners could rely on.

With respect to the emoluments of the masters, the

masters

masters of the subordinate schools should be paid partly by a fixed salary of £20. a year, beside a house and garden, and partly by the parents and friends of the children who are committed to their care; so that on the whole the masters of these schools might earn from forty to sixty pounds a year. It is to be supposed that the payment by the scholars to each schoolmaster will amount at least to twenty pounds a year more: different prices will be proper for different places: in some places the poor are scarcely able to afford any payment; but it is obvious that the best charity the higher ranks can bestow is, in such cases, paying the small stipend required for the schooling of children; nor is there any danger that this charity should become onerous, as the poor are averse from receiving *gratuitous* instruction.

The salaries of the masters in the higher or provincial schools should be at least one hundred pounds a year, with a prospect of a pension of twenty or thirty pounds a year, according to their respective merits, if they choose to retire after twenty years service. The masters for both classes of these schools should be appointed by Commissioners, to whom the control of these schools should be ultimately confided.

Whether these Commissioners should receive any emolument for their trouble is a question that I am not competent to decide; but it appears to be reasonable that either all or none should be paid. The danger of creating Commissioners with salaries is, the opportunity for Parliamentary jobbing;—the danger of gratuitous superintendance is neglect: these Commissioners should

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be chiefly Laymen, half their number should consist of Protestant, and half of Catholic gentlemen: the Protestant part of the Board should choose the Protestant masters, the Catholic part of the Board should choose the Catholic masters; but neither Protestant nor Catholic masters should be chosen without a certificate of good behaviour from the Protestant or Catholic Bishop, or from the resident Protestant or Catholic clergyman; under these Commissioners inspectors of all these schools should be appointed, two for each province; these inspectors should be handsomely paid for each visitation upon which they should be sent; they should keep regular books, and should report regularly to the Board; their visits to the preparatory Schools should not be at stated but at unforeseen times; and their general business should be to examine and decide upon the merits of the boys who are to be draughted from the preparatory into the provincial schools.

To accomplish the purposes of these establishments, the boys in the higher schools should be taught book-keeping, surveying, agricultural economy, practical mechanics, and such parts of practical chemistry as are useful in the trades and occupations for which they are designed.

It may be supposed that in each of the thirteen hundred preparatory schools from forty to eighty boys may be taught reading, writing, and arithmetic; the masters of these schools should be obliged to keep a weekly register of the morals and acquirements of every boy in the upper class of each school: this register should be kept

kept by simple marks, under the heads of Truth, Honesty, Obedience, and Scholarship. The inspectors should verify the contents of these registers from time to time by inquiry, and by examination of the boys in the different branches of their instruction.

Once in every two years the master of each school should select two boys, in conformity with the evidence of his registry, to be sent to the nearest provincial school as a candidate for admission; and the boy should be previously furnished with a certificate of good behaviour from the Protestant or Catholic clergyman of the parish where the preparatory school is situate; and once in every two years, at each provincial school, a public examination should be held of the candidates for admission, before two of the inspectors already mentioned: thus forty boys would be draughted into each of the provincial schools, while at the same time forty would go out to different useful and profitable occupations. If the boys were well taught, they would be eagerly sought for by persons who were engaged in the employments for which the pupil is prepared. The total expence of this establishment, including the money spent in building, would amount to about £80,000 per annum.

From the structure of this plan, it is obvious that half the number of the provincial schools might be established, or any smaller number, as an experiment; this would diminish the expense to £40,000, a sum which might be raised by county presentments.

A distinguished member of our Board has observed, that many of the evils which we suppose to arise from

want of education, or from difference of religion, in Ireland, arise from difference of language, from the lower classes continuing to speak Irish, instead of learning English. This may be the case in some parts of the country, but certainly not in the county where I reside; wherever it is the case, proper methods should be taken for remedying it: the multiplying the number of English schools seems to be one of the means most likely to succeed. It should be considered, for the honour of the docility of the Irish, that they have within these few years made a greater progress in learning English, than the Welsh have made since the time of Edward the First, in acquiring that language.

It would be superfluous to enter into minute details upon the plan which I have laid before your Grace, as it is offered for the consideration of superior wisdom; but I may be allowed to add a few explanatory hints on the mode by which the simple and easy course of instruction I have recommended may be carried into execution. In the preparatory schools for teaching reading, writing, and arithmetic, advantage should be taken of all the improvements which Dr. Bell, Mr. Lancaster, and others, have suggested: and their plans may be still further improved: there are means of teaching children to read with more ease, more certainty, in much less time, and at less expense than any that are in use at present at public schools; but no particular mode of teaching should be exclusively enjoined; the best will soon make its way by its own superiority.

After the second year of the establishment of the preparatory

paratory schools the boys should be divided into two classes, an upper and a lower; the second class should be taught by monitors chosen from the first class, but I totally disapprove of the indiscriminate appointment of monitors; great care must be taken in their selection; only the best informed, and the best tempered boys should be employed; good temper should be preferred to abilities, because, in teaching, good temper is of more consequence than the most shining abilities.

After the second class has been unremittingly employed for about two or three hours, it should be entirely dismissed, and the upper class should remain and should be taught what might be suited to their age and to their previous acquirements.

Wherever girls are taught, they should be dismissed with the younger class.

It will be immediately objected that the time I have mentioned, cannot be sufficient for any profitable instruction, and that one of the great advantages of a day-school arises from its keeping children employed, and consequently out of mischief, for the greatest part of every day, except the holidays, during the year.

To the former of these objections, I answer, that long and attentive experience has convinced me, that much less than one hour's lively attention in the pupil will improve his understanding, under proper teachers, more than ten hours listless impatience under the tuition of a common pedagogue, in a common school. As to the second objection, it is best answered by observing, that one of the inconveniencies of which the

poor complain, in respect to the education of their families, is, that they lose the assistance of their children; which, though of no very great amount, is yet an object to them in their day's labour; the advantage of schools, as repositories, or rather prisons, for active children who are troublesome at home, must surely relate to children of very tender years, who ought not to be admitted into the public schools.

The examples that young children see at home are undoubtedly pernicious, but till a better educated generation has grown up, there is no remedy, except what may be expected from the interference of the gentry, particularly the Ladies of Ireland, who are now intent upon bettering the condition of the poor: by their means, *Dame Schools* may be provided as receptacles for young children, to habituate them to cleanliness, order, and obedience, before they are sent to any of the preparatory day-schools which I have described.

Whatever plan may be adopted for the education of the lower classes, a seminary for masters is indispensably necessary; some of the most promising pupils from Dr. Bell's and Mr. Lancaster's schools, might be invited to this country; a succession of persons properly qualified to be masters, might afterwards be supplied by selections from our own schools. By proper encouragement, I think a school for masters might be established at Wilson's Hospital. I cannot quit this subject without observing that the poor are now uncommonly anxious to procure education for their children; as a proof of this, I may mention, that in a number of private

private letters which I have lately had an opportunity of seeing from young men abroad in different parts of the world, I have found most urgent entreaties to the parents, or their wives, *to keep their children to school*; this anxious desire that the children should be instructed, is the best preparation, the best omen, for the success of a plan of popular education; and the plan I now propose would hold out many peculiarly alluring circumstances; the keeping of registers in the schools; the selecting, from the evidence of these registers, the most deserving pupils, without distinction of religion, to be sent to public examinations in the provincial schools, would, in the first instance, give confidence in the impartiality of the system, and excite strong emulation; the further certainty that the successful candidates at these examinations would be sent to the provincial schools, where, without expense to the parents, their education would be continued so as completely to prepare them, at their entrance into life, for employments and *situations* in a rank or step above their own, must operate as a powerful motive, both on parents and children; a motive which would excite the energy of the young, and secure the co-operation of the old: the poor would see that advancement in many lucrative and honourable occupations is thus laid open to industry and merit; they would perceive that those only enjoy rational freedom who have thus the power of obtaining, by their own exertions, what, in other countries, is reserved exclusively for persons who are born in the higher ranks of life. The riches and distinctions that may be acquired in many occupations,

will thus be considered as a fund opened in every individual in the state; and though in human affairs, a multitude of unforeseen circumstances retard and obstruct the advancement of individuals, yet where the way is open to all, none can justly complain of being necessarily kept down below their fellow citizens.

While I write thus of what *may be done*, I do not mean to assert that what *may be done* will be soon accomplished. A generation must pass away before the advantages of a good system of national education can be generally perceived in the improved morals and manners of the people.

But your Grace's views, and the views of this Board, are not confined only to the present generation; If a solid foundation is laid by your exertions, time will mature what shall have been begun, and the blessings of good education will increase the security and happiness of Ireland beyond the most sanguine hopes of that Government which instituted your Board.

I cannot conclude this sketch better than with the striking sentiment expressed by the late Bishop of Elphin, in his Sermon before the Incorporated Society.

"Education makes all the difference between wild "beasts and useful animals, all the distinction between "the Hottentot and the European, between the sa-"vage and the man."

I have the honour to be,

Your Grace's most humble servant,

RICH. LOVELL EDGEWORTH.

Letter

Letter from John Leslie Foster, Esquire, to the Secretary of the Board of Education.

SIR, London, April 22d, 1811.

I much regret that the necessity of my attendance in Parliament prevented my being present at the last meeting of the Board of Education. In compliance with their desire, that such of the Commissioners as were absent, should transmit to you their opinions upon the important subject now under our consideration, I proceed with great deference to lay mine before the Board.

As the first step towards forming an opinion, how far the education of the lower classes in Ireland may be improved, it seems necessary that we should have a clear view of its actual state.

Returns of the 17 of the 22 Dioceses of Ireland have been laid before the Commissioners by the chief secretary of the Lord Lieutenant, specifying the number of schools in each parish, and the number of pupils in each school; distinguishing also the proportion of Catholics and Protestants among the scholars, and the name and religion of each schoolmaster, accompanied with a variety of important observations, as to the course of instruction actually pursued, and the feelings of the people upon that subject.

From these returns it appears, that in these 17 Dioceses there are no fewer than 3,736 schoolmasters, who administer education to 162,567 pupils; of the masters, 1,271 are Protestants, and 2,465 Roman Catholics: of their pupils, the Protestants are 45,590, and the Roman Catholics 116,977. These 17 Dioceses

comprise about five-sixths of the superficial extent of Ireland, but probably do not contain more than four-fifths of its actual population; the remaining five Dioceses would thus contain one-fifth as many inhabitants as the 17 whose returns are laid before us, and may be supposed to possess schoolmasters and pupils in the same proportion; we may then conclude, that similar returns from the whole of Ireland, would have presented to our view upwards of 200,000 pupils instructed by above 4,600 masters.

Great as this number may appear, it is obviously far less than the reality; for these returns were almost all made in the winter half of the year; and it appears, that the number of scholars in the summer season is every where greatly increased, and in many places at least doubled. These returns also, in general, exclude from their enumeration the itinerant schoolmasters, who yet form so principal a subject of their comments, and who appear to prevail in the South and West, and indeed in most parts of Ireland, in such considerable numbers. Men who are described as having no fixed place of habitation, but who set up schools during the summer months in temporary hovels, or transfer the scene of their instructions once or twice a week from *cabin* to *cabin*, in some places underselling the low rates of teaching demanded by the residents, in others not receiving any pecuniary reward, nor other remuneration than food and lodging; pursuing this system during the fine weather, and disappearing regularly and necessarily in the commencement of the winter.

Thus, if we were merely to consider the extent to which

which instruction is administered, we might perhaps be led to the conclusion, that hardly any other country is so amply provided with the means of education; but when we take into consideration, not merely the quantity; but the quality of these means, their extent becomes an additional, and an imperious, reason for interference and alteration.

The rates charged for instruction appear to be in general,

	s.	d.	
For reading - - - -	2	6	per quarter.
For reading and writing -	4	4	ditto.
For reading, writing, and arithmetic - -	6	6	ditto.

When it is considered, that the average number of pupils in each school paying these rates appear to be about 43, we might at once conclude, that it is impossible the country should produce 4,600 persons tempted by such inducements, and properly qualified for teaching even the art of reading, much less for implanting in the mind the first principles of religion or morality, or indeed for conveying almost any useful knowledge. It is not, however, necessary to resort to any such general conclusion; the returns furnish but too many proofs of the melancholy fact, that in most places (parts of the North excepted,) the actual quality of the education is far worse than we should be led *à priori*, even from these premises, to conclude. The want of books is the first and most general complaint; a want inseparable from the present rates of teaching, unaided

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by the improvements of Bell and Lancaster. The nature of the few that are to be met with, is an evil often of no less magnitude; a selection alike pernicious and ridiculous. Fabulous and idle tales, newspapers, and ballads, "*The Impartial History of Ireland;*" "*The Treatise of the Scapular;*" "*The Irish Rogues and Rapparees;*" and "*The Life of Moll Flanders!*"

Supposing, however, even proper books to be provided, it is obvious, that in the hands of many of the present masters they could be of little service.

I shall not recapitulate all the painful descriptions, both of their deficiencies and dispositions, which occur in many of these returns; in one we are informed, "that a more disloyal and bigotted set of men does not "exist than the *hedge schoolmasters* of the adjoining "country." Without subscribing to the severity of this censure, or at least excepting to the generality of its application, we still may be permitted to doubt, whether it is possible to ascribe to many of them the praise of possessing the opposite qualifications; perhaps it is a little overstrained, when we are assured in another of the returns, that "men incapable of getting a livelihood in any other manner are constrained to open school as a last resource;" but surely, even without the returns, and even setting aside what must be our own experience upon the subject, it is evident, that where the whole reward of the annual labour of a master appears to be on the average from £30 to £40 per annum, who for this sum is to find a school-house, and to maintain his family, it is in vain to expect we can obtain proper qualifications at such a price; more particularly

ticularly amongst men who have probably had no better opportunities for their own instruction than those which they now afford to the future schoolmasters of the next generation; that such terms should find masters to accept them, and that parents should desire to purchase what they can obtain at such a price, can result only from the poverty coupled with the strong passion for education, which alike mark the lower classes of our people; indeed, one of the few subjects for congratulation to be found in these returns is the extraordinary and universal desire of the peasantry to obtain instruction for their children. Very frequent are the instances, (in one parish not fewer than eleven) of *evening schools* being established, and regularly attended by children of parents whose necessities do not allow them to dispense with the daily labours even of such young assistants. This disposition would lead them to co-operate with us in the diffusion of instruction, and promises the happiest results, if indeed we undertake to give it to them. It however does more, it further assures us, that if we do not assist them, instructed nevetheless they will be; and that the limits of our choice are confined to the quality of that instruction; so that to such persons as think education unfitted for their stations, no such alternative is presented; our choice appears to be, not whether they shall be educated or ignorant, but whether they shall be taught to be profitable members of society in their humble stations, fulfillers of their religious, moral, and social duties, obedient to the laws, and loyal to the government, or continue under the systematic mis-instruction

upon

upon these points, which in so many instances appears to be their present lot.

There are, no doubt, many exceptions to this melancholy view of the general means of instruction possessed by the lower orders of our people. The English parish scools, which formed the subject of our Eleventh Report, contain it seems no fewer than 23,000 pupils, and in them the education is no doubt, of a better description, though still very inferior to what it might be rendered; these schools however appear to be comparatively but little frequented by the Catholics, whose instruction is so principal a subject for our consideration. In some parts of the north of Ireland there are many excellent schools; there are also many good schools founded by the benevolent exertions of individuals in other places, and the proceedings of the trustees of Erasmus Smith promise an important addition to their number; still, however, I cannot think that any person on examining the documents now before the Board, will consider these altogether in any other point of view, than as forming partial exceptions to a general system, and utterly inadequate to effect a reformation of its character.

The formation of any plan for the education of a people involves so many, and such important considerations, that it must necessarily be the subject of much difference of opinion; the difficulty inseparable from such an inquiry, in general, is however still inferior to another of a nature peculiar to Ireland, arising from the obstacles presented by the actual state of religious and other opinions among the people; it will

will be in vain to recommend the system which we might think most desirable for adoption, if it is also to be such as will inevitably be rejected by those for whose benefit principally it is proposed.

The returns already referred to, exhibit some facts which may assist our conclusions upon this subject. It appears that in some parts of Ireland, principally in the South and West, in parishes where there are both Protestant and Roman Catholic masters, not a single Catholic scholar is to be found under the tuition of a Protestant, nor a Protestant pupil under a Roman Catholic: In the parish of St. Nicholas, for instance, in the diocese of Cork, there are five Protestant, and fifteen Roman Catholic schools, each frequented exclusively by children of the religion of the master; other instances, though none perhaps so strong, might easily be adduced; it is very observable, however, that this habit prevails only in those parts of the country where the great mass of the population is Roman Catholic; where the Protestants and Roman Catholics are more equally balanced no such feeling seems to exist; for instance, we find, in the returns of the parish schools, that in the parish of Ardtrea, in the diocese of Armagh, there are fifteen schools, of which it happens that seven are kept by Protestants of the established church, seven by Roman Catholics, and one by a Presbyterian; in every one of those schools are to be found both Protestant and Roman Catholic pupils, and in every one of them the child is taught the catechism of its own religion by the schoolmaster. The parish of Ardtrea seems to be a fair example of the habits of the North,

North, but the parish of St. Nicholas does not seem to be an equally fair specimen of the practice of the South; on the contrary, this, and some other similar instances, appear more nearly as exceptions than illustrations of the general system, even in those parts of Ireland, for on examining the returns it appears evident, that, in the vast majority of instances, perhaps even in nine out of ten, the schoolmaster be his religion what it may, has pupils of each persuasion; where the school appears to be of a better description, and particularly where surveying or mathematics are taught, the mixture will be found, I believe, invariably to take place. It appears also that there exists less disinclination on the part of the Protestants, than of the Roman Catholics, to intrust their children to masters of the opposite religion; nay, even in some parishes, where the majority of the pupils are Protestant, the majority of the masters are Catholic; for instance, in the parishes of Muckno, and of Magheracross, in the diocese of Clogher. In the parish of Drummully, in the same diocese, there is a Roman Catholic master with every pupil in his school a Protestant.

In those places where there exists the greatest unwillingness on the part of the Roman Catholics to send their children to Protestants, it seems to be in consequence of the very active, and in most places recent, interference of individuals of the Roman Catholic Clergy for that purpose. It is in the Southern Dioceses of Cloyne, Waterford, Ferns, Cashel, and Ossory, that this interference seems principally to have been exerted.

A remarkable instance of this interference appears to have taken place in the parish of Fiddown, in the diocese of Ossory, where in 1807 a Protestant master had 50 Protestant and 100 Catholic scholars, when at the desire of the priest, all the Catholics, except 18, left him. It is observable, however, that 18 did stay with him notwithstanding the prohibition.

It appears also, that even in those places the interference has been exerted in comparatively few instances, and not to an extent that can materially affect the conclusion, that in general the schools of Protestant masters are as yet attended freely by Roman Catholic pupils. It has been already observed, that the Protestant masters who are appointed to the English parish schools usually appear to have a smaller proportion of Catholics among their pupils than other Protestant schoolmasters; whether this originates from these masters being less inclined to become the teachers of the Roman Catholic catechisms, or from a distrust in the parents, springing from the mode of their appointment, or from other causes, I do not pretend to determine.

It is very evident, that an extreme jealousy exists among the Roman Catholics as to any interference with the religious tenets of their children, and that the slightest attempt towards it on the part of the master would be the signal for their complete abandonment of his school. A curious instance of the extent of these feelings occurs in the parish of Brigoun, in the diocese of Cloyne, where a Sunday-school, kept by a Protestant, was fully attended by Catholic pupils, until the

scene

scene of instruction was imprudently transferred to the church; their immediate and universal secession was the consequence; and it seems that the subsequent removal of the school to the market-house has not been able to recover any portion of their attendance: We may observe another example of the same feeling at the opposite extremity of the island: In the parish of Cloncha, in the diocese of Derry, there are three Sunday-schools, and kept in the church, the others not; the Roman Catholics resort freely to the latter, but do not go to the former.

These circumstances have been adverted to, minute as they may appear, because they prove the necessity of our sincerely renouncing every idea of interference with the religious opinions of the Roman Catholics in any plan offered to their acceptance. By attempting it, we should fail of every thing,—by abstaining from it, I hope, and believe, that in other respects a vast deal may be effected.

The following are the steps by which, as it appears to me, a permanent system of improved education might be established, with the fairest prospect of success;—as the first and indispensable preliminary, a Seminary should be established for the instruction of young men as School-masters,—not merely because it would be difficult or impossible to find any sufficient number in Ireland, qualified for the purpose, but also because it appears to me to be very important that the new system should avail itself of the great improvements in the art of teaching which have been effected by Dr. Bell and Mr. Lancaster, and which by means of

such

such a seminary might effectually be introduced. I should propose to place the management of this instruction under the regulation of a Board of Commissioners of Education, who should also have the superintendence of such schools as should be afterwards founded under their authority for these schoolmasters to teach in. These Commissioners should be enabled to accept or to purchase proper sites of ground for building school-houses, and the possessors of estates under settlement should be empowered to convey to them for that purpose. The funds necessary would, I hope, be considered by Parliament as a proper subject of annual supply. Of the numerous public institutions in Ireland, which are thus supported, no one seems to be a fairer object of legislative bounty. The Commissioners might then proceed gradually to build schools in such places as in their judgment might be desirable, and on a due exercise of discretion in this particular, I should expect both the extent and period of final success materially to depend.

The course of Instruction to be pursued demands the next consideration.

In every system of education, and particularly one intended for the lower ranks in Ireland, it is surely of the last importance to provide that the acquisition of the art of reading shall at the same time be made the means of conveying proper principles into the mind. In Ireland, however, this will be a work of some difficulty, owing to the necessity of founding all true principles of human action ultimately in the obligations of religion, coupled with the jealous feelings upon that

subject with which we have to treat;—we have not, then, a perfect liberty of choice; and, accordingly, the plan which, in obedience to the desire of the Board, I venture to suggest, is not that which appears to me most perfect in itself, but merely as the best that there is any chance of being able to carry into practical effect, and at the same time as one which might be carried into effect without much difficulty, and which would be productive of the most beneficial results,—under these circumstances then, we seem to have a choice of but two general modes of proceeding, either to have separate schools for the Roman Catholics and Protestants, and to teach them in each the principles of their respective religions, or to unite them in the same schools, within which the points of their religious differences must never be adverted to—the first, though it may appear to some the most plausible, may, on consideration, be found highly objectionable. To promote the intercourse between the Protestants and Roman Catholics in all possible manners, appears to me of the greatest importance, observing, as I always have, that their mutual prejudices abate in proportion as they become acquainted with each other, and that an increase, not of dislike, but of toleration, is the effect of their collision.

The examples of the parish of Ardtrea already cited, and indeed of the north of Ireland in general, with the superior prosperity and happiness of that part of the island, contrasted with the habits of the south, and their disastrous consequences, seems clearly to point out the expediency of mixing the Protestants and

Catholics

Catholics as much as possible in any plan to be adopted. And it would be difficult to conceive an intercourse more likely to be effectual for that purpose than that of children pursuing together a common system of education at the time of life when their earliest and most permanent impressions are received,—nor any plan more calculated for ever to disconnect them, than by setting the Protestant school against the Catholic school, and leaving the pupils in each to indulge in that *esprit de corps* which would be inseparable from such an arrangement.

Recommending then, on those grounds, that the Protestants and Roman Catholics should be united in a common system of education, it follows that the system must be such as will not in the slightest degree interfere with the religious tenets of the latter; and further, that it must be such as may give to them a well-grounded assurance that no after-plan for their conversion is in secret reservation.

With this view, I should recommend that every word to be taught or read within these schools, should, in the first instance, be printed under the authority of the proposed Commissioners, and should constitute their course of education, public, fixed, and unalterable.—That this course should be taught without variation in all their schools, and that any of their masters departing from it in the slightest particular, should instantly be dismissed.

The contents of such a course would necessarily require great deliberation. To speak here merely of its general outline, it ought, I think, to comprise the teaching

of reading, writing, and arithmetic, upon the improved system of Bell and Lancaster; a system peculiarly calculated for the lower classes in Ireland, as much by the habits of order, method, and regularity, which it introduces, as by the vast saving of time and expense, which is its peculiar characteristic: ample care might easily be taken to guard this method, in the hands of the Commissioners, against an objection which has been urged by some (perhaps without much reason) against the Lancasterian practice, that it teaches reading as a mere art, without at the same time storing the young mind with proper principles. With this view, I should propose that the books intended for the readers in these schools should, in the first place, contain such extracts from the New Testament as no candid Roman Catholic can imagine to have any bearing upon the points in dispute between them and the Protestants. The 5th, 6th, and 7th chapters of the Gospel of St. Mathew, for instance, could, I apprehend, give offence to no Catholic parents: sure I am they would form most excellent lessons for their children; and I should most gladly purchase the opportunity of giving such to them, at the expense of omitting to insert in their school-books those passages which have been relied on by Protestants and Roman Catholics, in their controversies with each other.

It is hardly necessary to suggest how desirable it would be that some of the Bishops of the Roman Catholic church should assist in making the selection.

Some persons may, perhaps, suppose that even the limited communication of the Scriptures would form a ground

ground of religious objection; but the returns seem decisive to the contrary: throughout the North the New Testament appears to be thankfully received wherever it is offered to the Roman Catholics: in some places we are assured it is eagerly purchased by them. In the South, indeed, it appears, in some instances, to have been prohibited by individuals of the Roman Catholic clergy; but this interference seems of rare occurrence, and if attempted in many other parts of Ireland, would, probably, be unsuccessful. I beg, however, not to be understood as recommending that the religious instruction of Roman Catholics should be confined to these partial extracts of the Scriptures; such are proposed only for their school-books. It is merely recommended to leave it to the Catholic pupils hereafter to study certain passages, unaccompanied by the gloss of the schoolmasters appointed by the Commissioners, and thus to remove the objections which Roman Catholics might reasonably feel if another course were attempted, and at the same time leaving it free to their pastors to supply the deficiency, when and where, and by any commentaries they may think proper.

Assigning, therefore, to *numerous* extracts from the New Testament the first place in these school-books, and resting on them for the basis of that religious education which it would be for their respective pastors to complete, I should feel no hesitation in advising considerable extracts from the Old Testament also to be inserted in their class-books; they should, I *think*, further contain such familiar expositions and illustra-

tions of their moral and social duties as might be best suited to young minds, impressing on them a sense of toleration for their neighbours, regard for the obligation of an oath, submission to the laws, respect for the British constitution, and a variety of other principles unnecessary here to detail. They should further contain, at least in the upper classes, such practical knowledge on a variety of subjects as might be of real use to farmers and mechanics. The numerous attendance which takes place in such schools as profess to teach mathematics has been already adverted to, and from this we may judge how eagerly any extent of instruction, which it might be thought advisable to give, would be embraced. I should propose to post in every school a recommendation to the pupils to resort to such Sunday or other schools as their respective pastors should direct, in them to learn their catechisms and creeds. This supplemental instruction would be a necessary consequence of the general system already stated, and would no doubt be provided by those whose bounden duty it would become to supply it,—to give it to children so prepared would not be a work either of time or difficulty; and, however preferable it might be to administer it in the school, if the option were afforded, yet considering *that* as unattainable, the inconveniences of the proposed method appear to be far outweighed by the advantages which it holds out.

A material subject remains for consideration. How far would such a plan, if fairly offered, be accepted by the Roman Catholics of Ireland? This, I think, would materially depend upon the mode in which the Commissioners

missioners should proceed in their first operation; if they were to send Protestant masters to certain places, there would, indeed, be no chance of their success; but one advantage of such a course of education as is here recommended seems to be, that as it may be learned, so it may be taught, by a Roman Catholic, and I should hope that the seminary for the education of schoolmasters would contain Roman Catholics as well as Protestants.

There are parts of Ireland where the population is almost exclusively Roman Catholic. In the returns from some parishes in the diocese of Waterford may be observed 400, and even 500 scholars, without a single Protestant among them; what possible inducement could the Commissioners have for preferring the establishment of a Protestant to that of a Roman Catholic master in such places? In these the same system of instruction might be administered through the medium of Catholic masters, at whose hands it would probably be thankfully accepted, and the very circumstance of its being known in other parts of Ireland, that the same course of instruction afforded in them by Protestants was in others dispensed by Catholics, would no doubt contribute to remove any scruples as to its acceptance. I should wish, however, to act on this principle still more extensively, and in every part of Ireland, even the most Protestant, it would, I think, be desirable to see some Roman Catholics among the schoolmasters established by the Commissioners. And yet even on these terms, and under all possible precautions, it must be expected, that the introduction of

this plan would meet with occasional and violent opposition; independent of religious jealousies, political apprehensions would be called into operation; and well might the enemies of the British connection endeavour by every misrepresentation to counteract a measure threatening to be so destructive to their views. Still, I think, that with judicious management it would succeed in most places at first, and in all finally; and that, even if generally forbidden by the Roman Catholic Clergy (an event which is not to be supposed) the good sense of the people would ultimately get the better of the prohibition.

The fact so clearly substantiated in our former Report,* that numbers of Roman Catholic parents voluntarily send their children to the charter-schools, though with the certainty of receiving a Protestant education (a practice which, probably, is founded not in religious indifference, but in the view of obtaining, at all hazards, a good education for the children, and trusting to the probability of their being re-converted in due time to the religion of their families) proves that there are many Roman Catholics, who, in defiance of other considerations, are ready to receive education from a Protestant, provided that education be good: how much more extensive would be such a feeling if the education proffered was not only good in itself, but such as cautiously avoided the offending of any one Roman Catholic feeling? Even the examples of interference already referred to, tend to strengthen this opinion,

* See Third Report of the Board.

opinion. Although four-fifths of the Catholics who were at the school of Fiddown deserted it at the orders of the priest, yet one-fifth continued to resort to it; perhaps, had the school been of a superior description, those who remained would have been more numerous.

I should recommend that the pupils in the proposed schools should pay for instruction nearly the same low rates as they do at present, which, with the assistance of the Lancasterian practice, would provide proper books, and leave a moderate profit for the master, in addition to his salary from the Commissioners. The Protestant and Roman Catholic clergymen should each be entitled to recommend a limited number of free scholars—the people at large would never accept of gratuitous education.

The funds required for the establishment of the system must, no doubt, be ample, and could be effectually supplied by Parliament alone: an annual grant, as that made of late years to the House of Industry in Dublin, or even that to the Foundling Hospital, would probably be found sufficient, both for the gradual erection of the schools, and the salaries of the masters; besides, it would not be necessary, or even desirable, for the Board to establish such schools in every spot where a school might be required; if they were once in sufficient number to enter into general competition with the schoolmasters of the country, the latter, in their own defence, must improve their habits, and these new schools, while they occasioned the neces-

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sity, would at the same time supply the means of amelioration.

It may be hoped, then, that the expence of the proposed system would not be considered as an obstacle to its adoption. The history of the past might even induce a belief that any expence of educating Ireland would prove the truest economy within the reach of the united Legislature.

Lastly, I beg to offer it as my opinion, that whatever plan may appear to this Board most eligible, it should be laid before the heads of the Roman Catholic clergy previous to our report. No person acquainted with the discipline of the Roman Catholic church in Ireland can doubt, that on the sentiments of the Bishops will depend the degree of resistance or co-operation which such a plan would receive from the subordinate ministers of their religion. From such a communication great good might be expected; their assistance might point out practical modifications, which might otherwise escape our view; their authority, if exerted to forward our recommendations, would at once remove the main difficulties in our way; nay, even in the event, which is not to be anticipated, of their absolute disapprobation of our object, it might possibly still be found that a great step would have been made towards its accomplishment, for their sentiments would no doubt be expressed with such clearness and precision, as to leave no room for misconception as to the reason of their dissent; and it would then be for public opinion (the ultimate and best judge in such a case),

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to pronounce on the merits of the plan, the spirit in which it was proposed, and the grounds on which it was rejected.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most faithful and obedient servant,
J. LESLIE FORSTER.

To J. CORNEILLE, Esquire.

(A correct Copy) J. CORNEILLE,
Secretary to the Board of Education.

No. II.—Vide Page 180.

Mr. BECKWITH's Plan relative to Charitable Donations, &c. &c.

After stating the particulars before mentioned, I now come to consider of a remedy for those evils and disorders which have happened, and I fear still exist too much in the management of property given for the use of the poor, with the view of preventing the like in future, as far as it is practicable to be done. I am sensible I have imposed an arduous task upon myself, since the wisdom of past ages, by every effort made for this purpose, has not been able to accomplish it, as I trust is sufficiently manifest from what has already been remarked in the preceding chapters.

I do not conceive in the annals of this country that any past age can be found, which has exceeded the present

present in works of true charity and benevolence; and on this ground I presume to erect my edifice; not doubting that when this subject comes to be duly weighed and considered in its true light, I shall have the approbation and aid of all good and well-disposed Christians, to forward a design which, in its consequence, is to promote so useful and beneficial a service to the poor of the realm: and I hope it will not be deemed useless labour to endeavour to perpetuate the good works of others.

I am sensible the plan I have to propose for the consideration of the public cannot be carried into execution without much expence; and if the money wanted cannot easily be come at by voluntary subscription of those who abound so much in wealth, there is room still to hope it may not wholly miscarry; for, upon a general investigation of charitable donations, many estates given for the use of the poor will be found considerably under let, and where, by this plan, they come to be much improved, they may be assessed without injustice to the poor, by a rate of one shilling or more in the pound out of such improvement, to contribute to the charges incident hereto. Not that I can reasonably imagine the matter will result to this, while there are so many persons capable of preventing it by a small subscription out of their ample and abundant incomes: and let me remind them of that divine injunction, "To do good and communicate forget not; for, with such sacrifices God is well pleased."—*Heb.* chap. xiii. v. 16.

What I would first recommend, as an essential and fundamental

fundamental part of my plan is, to have an office established in the metropolis, and proper officers appointed for the registering all estates and property, of every kind, given for the use of the poor, in the most methodical and best manner that can be done to perpetuate the same.

However novel this may appear to some, I conceive I am sufficiently authorised in my proposal by the prophet Isaiah, (chap. xxx, v. 8.) who says, "Now go write it before them in a table, and note it in a book, that it may be for the time to come, for ever and ever." Let me add further, that the Romans registered their donations, and Monsieur Domat, treating on this subject in his Book of Civil Law in its natural Order, expressly says, that "Donations ought to be registered, that every body may know the engagement, which being unknown might give occasion to many frauds." Book I. tit. 10. §. 1.

Many persons may be of opinion, that there will be a great difficulty in making such registry to obtain a full and accurate account of all donations for the use of the poor, so that they may be properly described therein. I do not pretend to deny, that difficulty, in some particulars, may occur; but by the help of an Act of Parliament, which unquestionably will be found necessary to give energy and effect to my plan in all its branches, I have no doubt that it may be easily surmounted.

Returns were made of the state and condition of hospitals in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and Charles the Second, and returns of all charitable donations for

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the benefit of poor persons, from the several parishes in England and Wales, were likewise made, in pursuance of the Act of the 26th of his present Majesty, which several returns I suppose may be easily obtained from the places where deposited. If such is the case, the difficulty suggested, I apprehend, will vanish; for, by the help of these several returns, such knowledge may be acquired from them as to lead to a developement of what is further wanted to perfect the registering of the same. Where further information may be wanted, the ministers and churchwardens of every parish, and all others entrusted with the care of charitable donations for the use of the poor, should be required to furnish the office, or in default thereof be made subject to a large penalty for their neglect or omission of so doing.

After a competent number of benevolent persons have subscribed to forward this charitable work, it will be necessary that they should be incorporated by patent of our most gracious Sovereign (who has given so many and ample testimonies, throughout his long reign, of encouraging all designs for public good) or by act of Parliament, into a society, under the appellation of Conservators or Guardians of Public Charities, with full power and authority to inspect, by themselves or their agents, all donations to charitable uses. When legally incorporated with such privileges and powers as their office will necessarily require, it will then remain for them to proceed in the choice of all such fit and able persons, as shall be wanted to fulfil the ends and purposes of the institution, such as President, Vice-

Vice-President, Treasurer, Secretary, Inspectors, Surveyors, Counsel, Solicitor, and Clerks for registering the donations in form, with such rules and regulations as shall be adjudged fit, proper, and convenient for the Society to adopt.

Here let me observe, that the best mode of registering such an immense number of donations as there are to charitable uses in England and Wales, will be, to have one or more books for each county, in which all such donations in the several parishes within the said county should be alphabetically registered, with an index at the end referring to each parish; and in taking the account, all gifts of the same kind, in each parish, should be arranged together, according to their priority in point of time; for example, gifts for providing bread for the poor, if more than one in the same parish, put together; and gifts, if more than one, of money to be distributed to the poor, put by themselves; and all gifts for putting out poor children apprentices to traders, placed together; and so of other gifts in like manner. By this arrangement, gifts of the same kind will be found in the register in order, and all confusion avoided. I mention this, from an apprehension that most of the Returns made to the House of Commons are transcripts of the tables put up in their churches, which I have generally observed to want this mark of distinction, from the confused manner in which they narrate the benefactions to the poor. I have further to observe, that every donation registered should specify the deed or will, with the date thereof, by which it was made, referring to the

place

place where to be found, as far as can or may be done with certainty; and when the deed or will cannot be found, a specification should be made in the registering the donation, that the defect being made known, the register may be evidence of its existence to future ages, the writings being lost.

After intimations as to the mode of registering, it is superfluous to be more explicit on this head; as those to whom this business may be fitly entrusted, will, naturally, after what I have mentioned, be under no difficulty of making such further arrangement herein, as will be approved by the Society and the public at large.

I am perfectly aware, that before a register can be fully completed as it ought to be, it will be proper to have all the real estates given to charitable uses in each county surveyed and valued, by one or more surveyors of approved skill in this branch of knowledge, resident in the county, to be nominated by the Society or their Committee, as agent or agents employed by them, in order to have as accurate an account as possible of the charity estates, where situate, to whom let, the present rent and condition, and the real value thereof to be let on lease to a tenant for a term not exceeding twenty-one years; which, when transmitted by such Surveyor or Surveyors to the Society, subscribed by his or their names, will be a sufficient warrant for describing and inserting the value of such estate in the register. But before any Surveyor or Surveyors, so chosen by the Society or their Committee, proceed to act in this business, it will be proper that he or they should, before

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two Justices of the peace of the said county, take an oath to survey the said estates honestly and truly, according to the best of his or their skill and judgment, without favour or affection to any one; and a certificate, under the hands of the said Justices, of his or their having taken such oath before them, and signed by him or themselves, should be transmitted to the said Society, within ten days after such oath taken and certificate made out, will put this matter in that shape, as to remove, I apprehend, all suspicion of erroneous and false conduct in this business.

As to letting the charity estates in future, after such survey of them made as aforesaid, as they become capable of being let *de novo*: the Trustees, or persons who have a power of leasing, should, with the privity of the Society or their Committee, exercise their discretion, as to the best mode of letting the same for a term not exceeding twenty-one years, the tenant giving proper security for payment of rent and performance of covenants, as shall be judged right by the Society or their Committee; but that none of these estates given to charitable uses hereafter be let on leases or lives, paying a fine, and reserving a small rent. This mode of letting estates so given, as hath been too long practised, should be entirely abolished, as exceedingly injurious to the charity in every light whatever.

When such a registry has been made as complete as may be, I would recommend that each parish in England and Wales should have an abstract of all the donations so registered, belonging to them respectively, after the form and in manner of that placed at the

conclusion of this Plan, to be put up in some conspicuous part of the church, for the inspection of the parishioners, at all times, with directions at the foot thereof where to apply to the Conservators of Public Charities, in case any of theirs are mismanaged or any ways abused.

I must not neglect observing, that the persons who have the receipt of monies given to charitable uses, in general, have seldom a reward assigned by the donors, which can be deemed a proper recompense for their trouble of receiving and paying the poor; and the reason I imagine is, that being a work of charity, the donors thought all well-disposed persons would readily and cheerfully transact the business, without coveting to be paid for their trouble; but experience has fully evinced this to be an error, which has produced many mischievous effects, such as negligence, and a variety of frauds and abuses, which would be too tiresome to enumerate. This ought to be particularly attended to; for few are found so disinterested as to employ their time and thoughts in serving others *gratis* (even the poor, which is every one's duty to serve without a recompence); and I would, in this case, recommend it to the consideration of the Society, as superintending this matter, where it can properly be done, that the persons concerned in the administration of gifts to the poor should have, if not an adequate, at least some recompense for their trouble, as one probable means to keep them upright and diligent in the execution of their trust. With all deference to the opinion of the Society on this point, I conceive an allowance of six-

pence

pence in the pound, for receiving and paying all sums as rent or interest arising from donations to the poor of parishes, including what may have been provided by donors, by way of remuneration, to be deducted from the money received, will, in most cases, be deemed quite sufficient; and wherever a person acting for the poor shall have such recompense, it will be proper, in the arrangement of this by the Legislature, to subject him to a heavy forfeiture, in case of neglect or misconduct in any respect on his part, half to the King and half to the informer, to be recovered as the penalties mentioned in the Act of the 26th of his present Majesty.

The next essential point in this business is to secure, as far as possible, a faithful, just, and righteous, application of all monies received to the use of the poor, to which, by the terms of the donation, they are apparently entitled; and this, I apprehend, cannot be better done than by obliging all persons in each parish, who have the management of the charities thereto belonging, to exhibit in writing a true account, subscribed by him or them, of all monies received for the use of the poor of the said parish, mentioning the names of the several poor people partaking thereof, to the parishioners assembled at a vestry, held at Easter, or within one month after, for the choice of churchwardens and overseers, for their inspection and allowance; and if such account is, by the parishioners present at such meeting, or the major part of them, approved, then the same account to be entered in a book, to be kept in the church for this purpose, and signed by the minister, churchwardens, and overseers, as a

true account of the application of all charity monies received to that time, for the poor of the said parish. And if it shall so happen, that the account so produced at the vestry as aforesaid, shall not be approved by the major part of the parishioners attending the same, then a copy of the said account shall, within ten days after the delivery thereof, be transmitted by the minister or churchwardens to the Society, with the objections made thereto, who are to direct what measures are proper to be taken to have the same account settled, agreeable to the rules of justice. No doubt, this part of my Plan, if approved of, will require (among various other matters to be considered by the Legislature) a suitable provision for determining a case of this kind whenever it may happen.

It occurs to me, that the Society should have full power, as often as they see occasion, to nominate in each county one or more persons, from time to time, to inspect and examine the state, condition, and management of all hospitals or almshouses, and gifts for the use of the poor, in each parish, as their agent or agents, in order that they may not be deluded by any stratagem or art of those entrusted with the care of the same.

The better to come at a full and speedy disclosure and discovery of all real and personal property given for the use of the poor, and which may have been concealed, embezzled, or misapplied, I would recommend a short process, or *festinum remedium*, to be adopted, as more congenial to this business than the tedious and expensive proceedings in our courts of judicature, as

at

at present established; that is, by the Legislature giving authority to two or more Justices of the Peace, residing near to the parish, not any way interested in the inquiry to be made, on application of any parishioner or agent of the Conservators of Public Charities, to examine carefully what lands, and the value thereof, or sum or sums of money, may have been given for the use of the poor of the said parish, and any way withheld from them; and for this purpose to summon before them any person or persons that are supposed to be acquainted with the matter to be inquired into, and examine on oath, such person or persons, and if thought needful, upon interrogatories in writing, to be exhibited for that intent, or otherwise, as in their discretion they may think the case requires, and to take his or their deposition or depositions, in writing, signed by such deponent or deponents; and after a full hearing of all parties, if a discovery of any real or personal property hath been made as belonging to the poor of the said parish, then to make their adjudication, in writing, of what appeared to them to be the truth of the case brought before them; stating also their opinion what recompense or satisfaction should be made the poor, by the person or persons found to have concealed, embezzled, or misapplied any part of the property given for their use; which being signed by them, shall, together with the deposition or depositions of the person or persons examined before them, be deposited in the church of the said parish where the complaint ariseth, with the other deeds and writings of charitable donations belonging thereto; and a copy of such adjudica-

tion, signed by the minister and churchwardens of the said parish, shall, within fourteen days after the same hath been obtained, be transmitted to the said Conservators, at their office in London, for their inspection and approbation, as to what may be further done thereon in procuring the recompense or satisfaction adjudged by the said Justices, as due to the poor of the said parish.

In regard to what legal steps should be taken to carry the adjudication of the said Justices into execution, if approved by the said Society, to obtain the poor the recompense thereby adjudged them, and also as to remunerating the said Justices for their time and trouble, and the other persons necessarily concerned in this new mode of jurisprudence, if this part of my plan is approved, it must be left to Parliament to arrange and settle in such manner as in its great wisdom may seem meet.

I have mentioned a counsel and solicitor as proper officers to the Society, to assist them in all such legal proceedings as may be prudent to adopt in many cases where the adjudication of the Justices, as aforesaid, may prove ineffectual, to compel a disclosure and discovery of real and personal property given to the poor, which may have been concealed, embezzled, or misapplied; and as no prescription ought to prevail against charitable uses, I reckon the Society will find much employment for these learned gentlemen, in recovering the property the poor, I may say, have been wickedly deprived of.

These

These are the general outlines of my Plan, as an expedient to preserve, in future, a due administration of all real and personal property given to charitable uses; which, I am sensible, will require various modifications to bring it to perfection in all its operations; and I well know this cannot be done without an Act of Parliament, authorizing the Justices of the Peace and the Society to exercise such powers as shall, in the wisdom of the Legislature, be judged necessary and proper to answer fully the ends and purposes of the Institution, which is to superintend all property, real and personal, given to charitable uses.

Permit me to add, as a corollary to the foregoing plan, that a Society, established for the purposes aforesaid, seems calculated to be as useful to the commonwealth as any other Society hitherto formed for promoting religion, morality, and the fine arts; for, it must be admitted by every intelligent person, who duly considers the importance of the subject, that there is an urgent necessity to correct and put a stop to the manifold frauds, breaches of trust, and negligences, found in the administration of donations to charitable uses; and, as our laws, standing as they do, have not yet been able to effect this, some other expedient is apparently wanted to accomplish what they are defective in; and I appeal to the judgment of the public, whether any better devise can be discovered more likely to answer all purposes, than by registering all donations to charitable uses, and instituting a permanent Society, with such powers as before-mentioned,

who, by constant and perpetual vigilance, may protect them in future from the like evils.

By registering all donations for the use of the poor in the several parishes in England and Wales, they will be open for the inspection of every one, desirous of examining them for all purposes wanted; and, as the writings of many gifts to the poor have been lost or destroyed, registering the gifts will give stability to the charity in future, and supply the want of those writings, besides many gifts made to the poor on contingencies, as on certain relatives of the donors dying without issue, have been lost for want of care, a register of such contingent gifts in future is the most infallible way to preserve them from being lost; and by establishing a registry, and putting gifts to the poor under the protection of a Society, in manner before mentioned, I apprehend will not fail to remove all discouragement which at present pervades the minds of the benevolent from bestowing their wealth in donations for the poor, after their death, from the uncertainty of a faithful application thereof; but when they know their gifts are under the eye of a society of honourable men, constituted for the sole purpose of seeing charitable donations duly administered, this, I doubt not, will restore their confidence, and give fresh animation to their charitable designs.

As relief of the poor is one great branch of Christian charity, to preserve the infinite number of donations from loss and abuses for their benefit, must be an essential good, as giving full latitude and effect to the beneficence

ficence of our ancestors, the donors; and who can say this is not a vital and pre-eminent piece of charity as any which at this juncture can be adopted? Charity is a superlative virtue, and can any one exercise this to a more beneficial purpose, than by giving effect and permanency to that profusion of gifts our ancestors have so liberally bestowed on the poor? Viewing this matter in a complete light, it may be said to be equal, if not greatly superior, in its consequences, to any one charity hitherto given for relief of the sick, old, blind, lame, or poor of any other denomination.

Here I conclude, leaving this important matter to the consideration of the public; professing myself willing to subscribe liberally towards establishing a fund necessary for the purpose of carrying this Plan, if approved, into execution.

An ABSTRACT of the Charitable Donations belonging to this Parish, as registered in the Office of Conservators of Public Charities, in Street, London, in the year 180 , which are to be distributed by the Minister, Churchwardens, and Overseers, or Trustees, &c. to the Poor, distinguishing the Times when the Charities are to be distributed.

WHOSE GIFT.	WHAT THE GIFT IS,	AND FOR WHAT USE.	WHO ARE THE TRUSTEES.	WHEN DISTRIBUTED.
Mr. Rich. Skinner, by deed, dated day of	£5 per annum, payable out of an estate in the parish of in the county of Essex, rented by R. F.	For the relief of the honest poor, on the feast of St. John the Baptist.	A. B. C. D. E. F. and G. H.	St. John the Baptist, 24th June.
Mr. Wm. Bank, by will, dated the day of	£2 12s. out of a meadow in this parish, in the occupation of J. B. farmer.	To be given to the poor in bread weekly.	Minister, Churchwardens, and Overseers, for the time being.	On a Sunday, weekly, after morning service in the church.
Mrs. M. Morrison, by deed, dated the 6th of April, 1629.	£50 per annum out of the manor of C.	For placing out poor children of this town apprentices yearly.	M. D. L. F. S. N. I. K.	

N. B. Whoever shall find any of these Charities unapplied, or misapplied, or any way neglected, or mismanaged, are hereby required to give information thereof to the Conservators of Public Charities at the Office above-mentioned.

No. III.—Vide page 227.

Evidence of Reverend Foster Archer, Inspector General of Prisons, and Isaac De Joncourt, Local Inspector of the Prisons of the County of the City of Dublin, as inserted in the Appendix to the Report from the Commissioners appointed to enquire into and inspect the Condition and Government of the State Prisons and other Gaols in Ireland. Ordered by the House of Commons, to be printed, 25th May, 1809.

The Reverend Foster Archer, Inspector General of Prisons in Ireland, sworn,

2. Do you know of any abuses at present existing in the gaol of Kilmainham?—*A.* I do; single prisoners do not occupy single sleeping cells, as was intended by the constitution of the gaol, although the cells are sufficiently numerous to admit of this arrangement in ordinary times: also due care is not taken in classing the prisoners according to their offences.

2. Do you know of any defects in the construction of the prison?—*A.* I do; 1st. The sewers are too flat; advantage was not taken of the declivity of the ground; they ought to have been made with a more rapid declination, and should have been round instead of square. 2d. The prison is so constructed that a communication is easily had between the different classes of prisoners; the inconvenience is particularly felt in the case of approvers, who cannot be kept completely distinct without

out shutting up a range. 3d. That the regulations are not posted; they were put up, but have been torn down by the prisoners.

Q. Is there a Local Inspector?—*A.* Yes, there is; the Reverend Henry Campbell, who discharges his duty conscientiously, and with great regularity.

Q. What office does Dr. Trevor hold in the gaol?—*A.* Dr. Trevor has superintended the sick prisoners for a considerable time, the medical attendant being for a long time labouring under indisposition; heard no complaints from any of the prisoners of neglect of medical attendance.

Q. Are you in the habit of seeing the Infirmary of the gaol?—*A.* There are two Infirmaries in the prison; viz. one for male, the other for female crown prisoners; debtors who may be ill are attended by medical assistance in their own rooms. I consider the gaol a very secure one, and very healthy.

Q. How comes it to pass that the females in this gaol are lying on straw laid on the cold flags, while the males are accommodated with beds and bedsteads?—*A.* It is not above two years since the Grand Jury would present money for bedsteads; they began by making a presentment for some cells in one ward in the prison, called the Capital Offences; being limited by the 26th of George the Third, cap. 27, sec. 23, to £.60 per annum, they could not supply all the wards of the prison at once, and suppose therefore that it is owing to that circumstance that the female prisoners are not as yet supplied with beds and bedsteads.

Q.

2. Is there any workshop in the gaol, or any means used for the employment of any description of prisoners, or any provision made for the introduction of industry into the prison?—*A.* No; but there is ample room for it in the prison, if proper arrangements were made. There is no Bridewell in the county, therefore such a provision for persons so committed is peculiarly called for.

2. Would not the employment of prisoners be attended with salutary effects?—*A.* Certainly, there can be no reformation of habits without labour.

2. Ought prisoners, committed for petty offences, to be kept separate from felons?—*A.* Certainly; but they are not so.

2. Do you know of any great or insuperable difficulty in the way of employing prisoners in works of industry in gaols in Ireland?—*A.* Knows of no natural difficulty, except in the general unfitness of prisons, from their inadequate construction; states farther, that in the south and greater part of the west of Ireland people in general are not manufacturers, but in the northern counties they are generally weavers, and all the women can spin flax; notwithstanding that circumstance there is but one gaol in the north of Ireland where manufactures are carried on, namely, that of Londonderry, where it has been attended with the happiest effects, in ameliorating the morals and habits of the prisoners.

Q. Have you any plan to suggest for the employment of prisoners in gaols, who have not acquired manufacturing habits?—*A.* There are easy trades which may be taught in gaols, such as making nets, baskets, slaters

slaters' pegs, picking hemp, opening ropes, and such other works as are established in Bridewells or Work-houses; but where such habits have not been acquired, which is generally the case in the south, and greater part of the west of Ireland, the difficulties in introducing any species of industry are very great.

Q. Might not means be used to excite prisoners to habits of industry?—*A.* Yes; 1st. I consider an appropriate building should be erected in every gaol, for carrying on labour. 2d. An equitable remuneration to each prisoner for work so performed, the withholding of which has been a principal cause of failure.

Q. Do you not consider that the grand obstacle to the execution of any plan of this kind in Ireland arises from the want of a sufficiently active and honest superintendence?—*A.* I do.

Q. Do you think the due execution of the provisions set forth in the act of the 23d and 24th of George the Third, cap. 41, sec. 6, which relate to the appointment of Visiting Justices, for inspecting gaols, would tend considerably to remedy this defect?—*A.* It would; if the justices could be prevailed upon to do their duty.

Q. Have you any means of knowing whether the improvements effected in the gaols in England have or have not been produced by the activity of the Visiting Justices acting under similar provisions?—*A.* I attribute the improvement in the gaols in England, *first*, to the superintendence of the Magistrates, and *next*, to the introduction of labour and religious instruction.—I have visited many of the gaols in England.

Q.

Q. Are there any regular appointed means for the moral and religious instruction of prisoners in the gaols of Ireland?—There is, to my knowledge, no distinct provision by law for a Chaplain to any gaol, except in the city of Dublin; when the Local Inspector is a clergyman, and attends to this object, it is either voluntarily, or by the particular direction of the Grand Jury.

Q. Are there places set apart in the gaols of Ireland for divine worship?—*A.* In some few gaols there are, especially in the north: in a great majority of the gaols of Ireland not any.

Q. Has the 11th regulation of the 26th of George the Third, relative to a table of fees, been carried into execution?—*A.* No, it has not. A table of fees has been submitted by me to the Court of King's Bench, which they have not as yet been pleased to adopt.

Q. Have not considerable inconveniencies been felt, and exactions made on prisoners, by gaolers, and others, from the want of a table of fees?—*A.* Yes, there have been some, to my knowledge.

Q. Is the gaol fever, formerly so prevalent, often met with amongst prisoners confined in Ireland?—*A.* I have never heard but of one instance of this fever, for twenty years last past.

Q. To what cause do you attribute this change?—*A.* To an improvement in the ventilation of prisons, and also the addition of court yards, in which prisoners are permitted to walk during the day time.

Q. Do you think that regular attention to whitewashing every part of the interior of a gaol, must contribute essentially

essentially to the comfort and health of the prisoners? —*A.* I do.

Q. How often do you think a gaol ought to be white-washed during the year?—*A.* Six times.

Q. What is the general practice in this respect in the gaols of Ireland?—*A.* The regulation requires it to be done twice a year, which I believe is strictly complied with.

2. Is sufficient attention paid in the gaols of Ireland as to cleanliness?—*A.* Not sufficient; some are better than others in this respect.

2. Are the prisoners cleanly or dirty in their persons?—*A.* Generally dirty.

2. Can you point out any means for remedying those evils?—*A.* I think I can. 1st. The Local Inspector should appoint a prisoner in each ward to cleanse it daily, rewarding his labour by an increased allowance of provisions, (thinks a double allowance sufficient) and by reducing the allowance when the work is neglected. 2dly. That the Local Inspector should not distribute provisions to any prisoner who had not his hands and face washed, and his hair combed at the time of distribution.

Q. Are the gaols in Ireland well supplied with water? —*A.* They generally are, but not universally.

Q. Are there any gaol dresses for prisoners in Ireland? —*A.* No; which I think a great defect.

Q. Are there any apparatus for fumigating the clothes of prisoners coming in?—*A.* No; which I also consider a defect.

2. Are the gaols in Ireland always supplied with scales and weights?—*A.* They generally are; but it is here proper to observe, that in consequence of the want of a general assize of bread in almost all the country towns in Ireland, the prisoners are often greatly stinted as to their allowance of this article. Local Inspectors sometimes do not take the trouble of substituting meal and potatoes as the law allows, although, in the north of Ireland, this substitution is generally made. In nearly all the gaols of Ireland, debtors get the same allowance as felons, namely, to the value of not less than 3*d.* per day, the rate fixed upon by the 27th of George the Third.

2. Do you consider that as sufficient allowance, according to the present price of provisions?—*A.* It is not; but the 3*d.* per day being a minimum, is sometimes exceeded by the Local Inspector, especially in times of scarcity. I think the allowance of food to prisoners should be regulated by quantity and not by price.

Q. Do you think the salaries of gaolers and their deputies in Ireland are sufficient?—*A.* No; very inadequate in all the gaols; in some they are more liberal than in others.

Q. What are the evils resulting from that inadequacy?—*A.* Exaction of rent for rooms and of unjust fees, and formerly the practice of putting bolts upon prisoners for the purpose of exacting money, now nearly abolished.

Q. Are any dungeons in use in any of the gaols in Ireland?—*A.* There are dungeons in some of the gaols, but not used.

Q. Are there in general a sufficient number of turnkeys in the gaols in Ireland, and how are they paid?—*A.* There are not generally a sufficient number of turnkeys. In some counties the Grand Jury allows a sum, not exceeding £10 for one turnkey, which is paid to the gaoler, who makes the best bargain he can with the person employed, who receives, in addition, the gaol allowance as a prisoner and *one shilling* upon the discharge of each prisoner.

Q. Are debtors in the gaols of the county and city of Dublin, supplied with gaol allowance?—*A.* In the County gaol they are; and debtors under coroners writs in the gaol of Newgate, have likewise said allowance; but no debtor in any of the other gaols, marshalseas, or Sheriffs Prison in Dublin have provisions.

Q. Have you any remarks to make upon the general structure of the gaol of Newgate?—*A.* The construction of the cells in the gaol of Newgate, on the felons side, is very bad and faulty, the corridor being between the cells and the court yard, instead of being on the outer wall; the walls are also badly built, and of bad materials; the *three* round towers at present useless, which are built of hewn stone, and are strong, might be converted into Common Halls, or Hospitals. The roof of the prison is very slight, and of bad materials.

Q. Is it possible to carry into effect the 13 regulations of the 26th of George the Third, in the present state of Newgate?—*A.* It is not.

Q. Do you think the gaol admits of any alteration that would render a conformity to these regulations practicable?—*A.* The gaol may be rendered more commodious

to the prisoners and more secure; but I am not aware that by any possible alteration a due classification of prisoners could be effected, which the law considers to be of the first importance. There is but one commodious hall or kitchen for the use of the felons in Newgate.

Q. What year was the Sheriffs Prison built?—*A.* In the year 1794; and was built by Grand Jury Presentment, for the purpose of preventing the abuses of sponging houses.

Q. How is it repaired?—*A.* There was a contest between the Grand Juries and the Sheriffs, who should repair it; it is now repaired by Grand Jury presentment.

Q. Upon what grounds do the Grand Jury attempt to throw the repairs upon the Sheriffs or their Deputy?—*A.* That as the prison was built for the safe keeping of their prisoners; and as they derive emolument for chamber rent and other fees, they were bound to keep it in repair.

Q. Has the Sheriffs Prison answered the purpose of correcting the abuses of sponging houses?—*A.* It has in part; the fees demanded in sponging houses and chamber rent, were much more extravagant than at present in the Sheriffs Prison; many cruelties also were practised in the sponging houses, that have not been exercised in the Sheriffs Prison. I think the Sheriffs Prison too small, being at present very much crowded. The cells under ground are inhuman places for confining prisoners, being dark and damp, and hardily ventilated.

Q. Has

Q. Has there been any regulation in that prison respecting chamber rent?—*A.* There has; for the front rooms unfurnished 7*s.* 7d. per week; furnished £1 2*s.* 9*d.* per week; for the side rooms 3s. 9½*d.* per week; and for the cells 1*d.* per night; also to the Sheriff on writs 10*s.* 1*d.*; on executions 13*s.* 4*d.*; to the keeper on writs 13*s.* 4*d.*; and to turnkey 1*s.* 1*d.*

Q. Are the prisoners inhabiting common halls in the Sheriffs Prison accommodated with beds and bedding, fire or candle-light?—*A.* None.

Isaac De Joncourt, sworn.

Saith; he is better than two years Inspector of prisons in the city of Dublin. Found the gaol of *Newgate* precisely in the same state as at this moment, very little alteration; witness's duty is to visit all parts of the gaol, which he does; witness observed on the felons side that a part of the gaol was unoccupied and had been so for several years; understood that the cause was, attempts having been made to escape; witness never reported such circumstances to the Court of King's Bench, thinking it more the province of the Grand Jury to look to the repairs and alterations in the gaol than his.—Witness is acquainted with the thirteen regulations. There are rooms for better classes of prisoners, some for women. Upon witness's going to the gaol, found great want of blankets; reported same to the Grand Jury and Court of King's Bench, who made a presentment for blankets, amounting to £.150; 88 blankets and rugs were for Newgate, remainder for the Bridewells and Penitentiary; witness discovered rugs or horse cloths stitched

stitched together, and of a very bad quality, brought to the gaol, which he directed should not be received; witness waited upon the Grand Jury, and complained to them; found that the contract for blankets was made in the Grand Jury Room with one of the Jurors; when the money presented for the blankets was issued, witness received it, the presentment having passed in his name, and immediately handed it over to the contractor, who was in waiting to receive it. The necessity of the prisoners compelled witness to use part of these inferior blankets for their accommodation; believes the contract was made at a fair price; never reported to the Court of King's Bench any circumstance relative to the quality of the blankets; did frequently to the Grand Jury; this circumstance took place sometime in 1807; all the blankets were in use before the money arising frem the presentment was paid; price of blankets about 19*s.* 6*d.* to 20*s.* per pair; witness believes that if it was not for the resistance made by him, that all the blankets would have been of a very bad quality. Saith, there never were beds or bedsteads in the gaol; the prisoners have plenty of straw. It never occurred to witness the necessity of making a Report to the Court of King's Bench upon the number of prisoners sleeping in one cell, it having been customary, and appearing to be the wish of the prisoners themselves for the sake of warmth; does not know of any bad consequences arising therefrom. The women's apartment, which is very small, has from 70 to 90 people confined in 12 cells (each cell 12 feet by 8), some for *five* or *six* years, who are under a rule of transportation; others for *three* or *four*

years, the like sentence, with no provision but the gaol allowance, for clothing or otherwise.

Upon witness's coming into office, he found the Bread supplied by one of the Aldermen, a Grand Juror; the presentment for bread is nominally made to witness, the payment made to the Alderman; since the commencement of a dispute between the Grand Jury and their late Treasurer, witness has insisted upon receiving the presentment himself; saith the bread is of an excellent quality, and a regular assize; weight 5lb. each loaf. The distribution is generally from two to half past two o'clock in the afternoon on Thursdays; no inconvenience to the prisoners from the hour at which the bread is delivered; witness never heard any complaint. There are certain prisoners who get double portions, named sweepers, and nurses of the female Hospitals, who are prisoners; the list of prisoners is always sent to him the day before the bread is received; witness never reckoned the number of prisoners in the gaol, but sees that every prisoner gets a loaf. Witness is of opinion that there is not an imposition on the public to the amount of 20*s.* a year in the distribution of bread in the gaol of Newgate.

Witness visited the *Four Courts Marshalsea* after his appointment three or four times a week, has been less frequent in his visits since, in consequence of his incapacity to make any improvement in the comforts of the prisoners. Witness reported to the Court of King's Bench, as also to the Government, these circumstances, the first year. Witness remonstrated with the Marshal on the state of the prison, that the privies were

flowing

flowing over the yard *one foot deep*, and required immediate cleansing; the Marshal told witness that it was a subject of dispute between himself and the Government, which of them was to execute this work; witness went to Judge Day, and reported the state in which he found the Marshalsea, Judge Day advised witness to go to Government and report what he had observed, and authorised him to use the names of the Judges of the Court of King's Bench, in order to obtain relief for the prisoners. Witness thought the state of the privies the most pressing grievance, being then the heat of summer; went to the north rear of the prison and discovered the stuff oozing through the wall four or five feet above the surface. After many applications to Government, witness at length got a measurement and estimate of a sewer, and obtained an order for the Board of Works to build a new sewer, the old one being not more than six inches square, is of opinion that the old sewer (even if cleansed) would be insufficient; there were upwards of *two thousand* cart loads of stuff and ordure taken away, in order to make a new sewer, which is two feet square. There is not any person appointed to clean the yards or halls, or any part of the Marshalsea; never knew the common halls whitewashed more than once a year. Witness is of opinion that the prison is sufficient for the number of persons therein confined. Witness represented to Government the necessity of beds and bedsteads for the Hospitals, there being at that time a fever in the prison; an enquiry was ordered to be made by the Board of Works, as to what had become of five or six wooden bedsteads which had

been furnished by Government about three or four years before that time; witness at length being tired out, informed Mr. Trail that he would give himself no farther trouble about it. Thinks that barrack bedsteads would be of great accommodation to the common halls.

Witness has had frequent applications from prisoners in the Marshalsea, relative to disputes between them and the Marshal, has discovered that nineteen times out of twenty the prisoners were in error; they suppose themselves *entitled* to certain allowances which, they conceive, the Marshal withholds. Witness thinks Moriarty a vicious, turbulent man; recollects having gone at the instance of Judge Daly, and having taken great pains to investigate the complaints of Moriarty, took down all his statements, and transmitted them to the Chief Justice, sent for Surgeon Leake to examine the personal injuries alledged to have been received from Longworth, the Deputy, who reported that they were not of a serious nature.

Believes Deputy Marshal is a sober, regular, honest man, but rather rough in his manners. Chief Marshal is nervous and gouty; takes little concern in the interior of the prison, leaves all to his Deputy. Understands that the Marshal is authorized by law to let his rooms, and the distribution of rooms is often productive of disputes; he leaves the letting of rooms to Deputy; witness has no reason to believe that the douceurs are given. Witness knows Reilly, who keeps the tap and lets rooms; believes he takes payment for beds which he lets to prisoners; never heard that he took bribes in order to accommodate prisoners with rooms; has heard that

persons

persons possessing rooms sold them, and went to the common halls to live.

Sheriffs Prison.—Witness saith that the Sheriffs Prison was built by presentment, to supersede the necessity of sponging houses; does not know how far it may be recognised by law; understands there are at present private lock-up houses in the City. Upon witness respecting the Sheriffs Prison, found two necessaries; one a cesspool without a sewer, which overflowed in the month of November 1807, and run into the cells; the other a small privy at the end of the north wing of the prison, from which a small sewer had been built, leading to the bradogue, but was for some time stopped; witness reported the state of this prison to the Grand Jury, and at his own risque got a sewer built, which has in some degree remedied the defect.

The windows of the prison have been for a length of time in a broken state; they are now repairing; Dunn, the keeper, told the Sheriffs, that if they would put the windows in proper repair, he would endeavour to keep them so. The cells are very unfit for the confinement of prisoners and the entire prison too small for the numbers that are put into it, often amounting to *one hundred and thirty.*

City Marshalsea.—The City Marshalsea usually contains from *twenty* to *thirty* prisoners; a wretched building; the keeper has two rooms; without sewer, pipe, or necessary. Witness heretofore made his report of this prison to the Grand Jury and Court of King's Bench. The Chief Justice has lately told witness, that he is to make his reports to the Lord Mayor and Corporation

poration of the city. The Lord Mayor has a power of expending £5 per quarter for repairs of this prison. There is no allowance of *bread, straw,* or *fuel.*

Penitentiary, James's Street—Is supplied with bread by Grand Jury presentment.

Witness thinks it absolutely necessary that some steps should be taken to employ the *poor* of the different prisons and marshalseas of this city, more particularly that prison in James's Street, where persons are confined for a period of years. In Smithfield prison there is not any separation between the male and female prisoners. There is sufficient room for employment of prisoners, but although an attempt has been recently made, it failed for want of a proper person to superintend it.

No. IV.—Vide Page 310.

To the Right Honourable and Honourable the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

First Report of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the Nature and Extent of the several Bogs in Ireland; and the practicability of draining and cultivating them.

The Warrant under which we are appointed Commissioners having been issued on the 15th day of September, 1809, we assembled in Dublin on the 19th day of

of the same month; and after having taken the oath prescribed, proceeded to form a plan for the execution of the trusts reposed in us by the Legislature.

We consider it a fortunate occurrence that, shortly previous to our appointment, Mr. Rennie had been in Dublin, and although his engagements in England precluded us from having an opportunity of formally consulting him at our Board, yet we found that two of the Commissioners had had the fullest communication with him on the subject of our commission, and conceived themselves to be in full possession of his ideas on the subject.

After committing to paper the outline of such instructions as appeared to us to be necessary for the guidance of our engineers, and conformable to Mr. Rennie's ideas, we consulted different engineers and surveyors as to the practical execution of it in detail, and finally reduced the whole into the form of "The Instructions," which form the 1st article of the Appendix to this Report.

The execution of our commission demanding considerable accommodation and space for the maps, sections, and instruments necessary for the investigation of the subject committed to us, it became an object to obtain the permission of the Dublin Society to hold our meetings in their house; and they (with the liberality which ever distinguishes them when the improvement of Ireland is the object) immediately acceded to our request.

On our part, with a view to economy, we appointed their Assistant Secretary the Secretary of our Commission,

sion, and the Superintendant of their Repository his Assistant Clerk; to the former we give a salary of £200 per annum; to the latter, one of 50 guineas; and these two sums, amounting in the whole to £256 17s. 6d. form the entire annual expense of our establishment.

Our next object (and on the due attainment of which depended, in a great degree, the success of our undertaking) was the proper division of the Bogs of Ireland into the districts referred to in the 1st article of the Instructions; and further, to determine in what part we should first apply those means entrusted to us, and which we at once perceived were utterly inadequate to the execution of any plan that should embrace the entire extent of Ireland.

In forming our opinions on these points, we derived our principal assistance from the Great Ordnance Survey of Ireland, executed by General Vallancey, the Chairman of our Board, it being the only map which defines either the situation or boundaries of the Bogs with any tolerable accuracy.

From inspection of this map we were enabled to consider the greater part of these Bogs as forming one connected whole, and to come to the general conclusion, that a portion of Ireland, of little more than one fourth of its entire superficial extent, and included between a line drawn from Wicklow Head to Galway, and another drawn from Howth Head to Sligo, comprises within it about six-sevenths of the Bogs in the island, exclusive of mere Mountain Bogs, and Bogs of less extent than 500 acres, in its form resembling a broad

broad belt drawn across the centre of Ireland, with its narrowest end nearest to the capital; and gradually extending in breadth as it approaches to the Western Ocean. This great division of the island, extending from east to west, is traversed by the Shannon from north to south, and is thus divided into two parts; of these the division to the westward of the river contains more than double the extent of the Bogs which are to be found in the division to the eastward; so that if we suppose the whole of the Bogs of Ireland (exclusive of mere Mountain Bog and of Bogs under 500 acres) to be divided into twenty parts, we shall find about seventeen of them comprized within the great division we have now described, twelve to the westward and five to the eastward of the Shannon; and of the remaining three parts, about two are to the south and one to the north of this division; of the positive amount of their contents we have as yet no data that can enable us to speak with any precision, but we are led to believe, from various communications with our engineers that the Bogs in the eastern division of the great district above described, amount to about 260,000 English acres, which on the proportion already mentioned would give rather more than one million of English acres as the total contents of the Bogs of Ireland, excluding, however, from consideration mere Mountain Bogs, and also all Bogs of less extent than 500 acres, of each of which description the amount is very considerable; of the extent of the latter some idea may be formed from a fact which we have learned from Mr. Larkin, that in the single county of Cavan, which he

has

has surveyed, there are above ninety Bogs, no one of which exceeds 500 Irish acres, but which taken collectively, contain above 11,000 Irish acres, which is equivalent to above 17,600 English, besides many smaller Bogs, varying in size from five to twenty acres.

Most of the Bogs which lie to the eastward of the Shannon, and which occupy a considerable portion of the King's County and the county of Kildare, are generally known by the name of the Bog of Allen; it must not, however, be supposed that this name is applied to any one great morass; on the contrary, the Bogs to which it is applied are perfectly distinct from each other, often separated by high ridges of dry country, and inclining towards different rivers, as their natural directions for drainage, so intersected by dry and cultivated land, that it may be affirmed generally there is no spot of these Bogs (to the eastward of the Shannon) so much as two Irish miles distant from the upland and cultivated districts.

With this first and general view of the subject, we had no hesitation in selecting at once the whole of the eastern portion of the great district above referred to, as the object of our first enquiries, forming in itself one whole, whose parts had more or less connexion with each other, lying in the centre of Ireland, in the immediate vicinity of some of the richest and best cultivated counties, intersected also by the two great lines of navigation, the Grand and the Royal Canals, and presenting in common apprehension very considerable obstacles to improvement; the overcoming of which would in itself demon-

demonstrate the practicability of the improvement of the Bogs of Ireland in most other cases.

We were further induced to form this selection on the general principles of beginning at the end of the great division above referred to, which lies nearest to the capital, and proceeding gradually to its termination at the Western Ocean; not, however, considering ourselves precluded from making occasional exceptions, where particular circumstances might appear to require it.

The proportion which the Bogs in this district bear to the intire of the Bogs of Ireland, appeared to us a further inducement; and we are the more disposed to mention this, as we find that by some we have been thought to have embarked, in the first instance, on too great a scale: on this we shall merely observe, that having two years allotted to us for the duration of our commission, we undertook at once rather less than one third of our task, in the supposition that it would require about eight months for its execution.

Having determined to give in charge the whole of this district, it became the next object of our consideration on what principle we should subdivide it into the smaller districts, referred to in the first article of our Instructions, for the purpose of being assigned to separate engineers; Major Taylor's excellent map of the county of Kildare furnished us with every necessary information, so far as that county was in question; but of the King's County there was no map published, and as it contains not less than 124,000 English acres of Bog, it became a most important object to possess ourselves

selves of the necessary information with respect to them.

We therefore thought ourselves fortunate in finding that Mr. Larkin, a surveyor of eminence, had surveyed the county for the Grand Jury; and we contracted with him to furnish us with a map of it, on the large scale required by our Instructions; and Mr. Larkin making himself responsible for the accuracy of the survey, we agreed to give him for it £300, being at the rate of less than three farthings per acre for every acre of Bog it contained. With these and the assistance of other documents, we divided all the Bogs, containing above 500 acres, in the counties of Kildare, King's County, Tipperary, Westmeath, and Longford, into seven districts: of these we gave the one which forms the north-eastern part of the Bog of Allen, in charge to Mr. Richard Griffith; the south-eastern to Mr. Brassington; the north-western to Mr. Townshend; the south-western to Mr. Longfield; a district lying principally in Westmeath to Mr. Jones; and the Bogs in the county of Longford, and both banks of the river Inny, to Mr. Edgeworth.

We also gave a large district of Bog in the county of Tipperary, which runs nearly parallel to the Suir from Roscrea to Cashell, in charge to Mr. Aher, wishing to take advantage of the circumstance of his being able to give a portion of his time to that district, although not to any other, on account of his other engagements.

We next laid down the principles which were to govern our expenditure in such manner as to secure that

that the amount of our disbursements should depend in every instance on the degree of labour to be performed.

With these views, we fixed the pay of engineers at two guineas a day for every day actually employed, and one guinea a day in lieu of allowances for travelling and board and lodging. That of their surveyors at one guinea a day for each, while employed, to be at once their pay, and in lieu of all allowances of every description. For the staff-men, chain-men, and labourers, we entrusted the engineers to make the best bargains in their power, not exceeding three shillings per day in any instance; and these terms, we trust, will appear extremely moderate when compared with those usual in Great Britain, and considering the hardships attendant on this peculiar service. The appointment of the engineers we necessarily hold in our hands, and select them under the obligation of our oaths; the appointment of the surveyors we commit entirely to the engineers, holding the latter responsible for the qualifications of the persons they employ.

We account with every engineer once a week, and he makes his return to us upon his oath.

To give an idea of the scale and nature of our expenditure, we subjoin, as the 2d and 3d articles of our Appendix, Copies of Accounts already called for by your Honourable House.

Owing to the winter season having set in, almost immediately after the appointment of the engineers, and which was particularly unfavourable to the execu-

tion of the survey, we have as yet received but one of their Reports, although they are most of them, we believe, in a state of considerable forwardness.

This Report we have determined on laying at once before your Honourable House, considering it as sufficient in itself, to enable the public to form a pretty accurate opinion of the degree of information which may be expected from the execution of our commission; and feeling also that if we deferred it any longer, we should have no other opportunity before the opening of the next Session; we have accordingly subjoined it as the fourth article of the Appendix to this Report.

The district reported on contains 36,430 English Acres of Bog, and forms the eastern extremity of the Bog of Allen. The map furnished to us by Mr. Griffith is on a scale of four inches to an Irish mile, and is accompanied by sections of the bog of nearly 200 miles in extent.

As these maps and sections could not be engraved without enormous expense, we have subjoined to this Report a map, executed on a scale as much reduced as is consistent with clearness, and which scale we propose to apply universally in the different maps which in the execution of the commission it will become our duty to furnish to your Honourable House, and this map we have accompanied with three lines of sections of the Bog, to serve at once as specimens of the manner in which the sections are executed, and to convey a clearer view than could be expressed in words, of the

the internal structure of a great Bog; a view, we believe, materially different from any of those generally received.

There are many, we believe, who consider the Bogs of Ireland to be low and marshy tracts of country, not very dissimilar in their composition from the fens of Lincolnshire; others, aware that the substance of which they are formed greatly differs from that of the fen districts, attribute, nevertheless, the origin of both to pretty nearly the same causes; while an opinion, more prevalent, and perhaps not less erroneous than either of the foregoing, attributes their formation to fallen forests, which are supposed at some former period to have covered these districts, and to have been destroyed either by the effects of time, or by hostile armies in the early wars of Ireland.

The facts stated in Mr. Griffith's Report are obviously inconsistent with any of these suppositions, the Bogs which he has surveyed being every where in elevated situations, and the trees which have hitherto been so constantly found buried in the edges of these Bogs, where alone it is probable they have been generally sought for, are very rarely to be found in the interior parts, at least, of this district.

Without entering in this Report into any inquiry as to the origin of Peat Bogs, we are, however, anxious to give to such persons as have not had an opportunity of examining them, some idea of the general appearances which they actually present.

It appears from Mr. Griffith, that each of the four Bogs included in the subject of his Report, is a mass

of the peculiar substance called Peat, of the average thickness of twenty-five feet, no where less than twelve, nor found to exceed forty-two; this substance varying materially in its appearances and properties, in proportion to the depth at which it lies: on the upper surface, covered with moss of various species, and to the depth of about ten feet, composed of a mass of the fibres of similar vegetables, in different stages of decomposition, proportioned to their depth from the surface, generally, however, too open in their texture to be applied to the purposes of fuel; below this generally lies a light blackish-brown turf, containing the fibres of moss still visible, though not perfect, and extending to a further depth of perhaps ten feet under this. In the instance exhibited in the section at the close of Mr. Griffith's Report, are found small branches and twigs of alder and birch, but we do not understand him as being of opinion that such is by any means generally the case; at a greater depth the fibres of vegetable matter cease to be visible, the colour of the turf becomes blacker, and the substance much more compact, its properties as fuel more valuable, and gradually increasing in the degree of blackness and compactness proportionate to its depth; near the bottom of the Bog it forms a black mass, which, when dry, has a strong resemblance to pitch or bituminous coal, and having a conchoidal fracture in every direction, with a black shining lustre, and susceptible of receiving a considerable polish.

We have requested Mr. Griffith to make a chemical analysis of these different strata, which he has done in the laboratory of the Dublin Society, and an account of

which,

which, with the section above alluded to, forms the Appendix to his Report. Immediately below this lower stratum there is generally found a thin stratum of yellow or blue clay, varying in thickness from one to six feet; in some places the peat rests on a thinner stratum of yellowish white marl, containing on an average, about sixty per cent. of calcarious matter: this stratum of clay in this district universally rests on a solid mass of clay and limestone gravel mixed together, and extending to an unknown depth.

We should further consider the peat mass as partaking in its general nature of the property of sponge, completely saturated with water, and giving rise to different streams and rivers for the discharge of the surplus waters which it receives from rain or snow; these streams in this district almost universally have worn their channels through the substance of the Bog down to the clay or limestone gravel underneath, dividing the Bog into distinct masses, and presenting in themselves the most proper situations for the main drains, and which, with the assistance of art, may be rendered effectual for that purpose.

Such is the internal structure of the Bogs in this district.

Viewing them externally, they present surfaces by no means level, but with planes of inclination amply sufficient for their drainage; the highest summit of any part of the Bogs in this district is 298 feet above the level of the sea, taken at an ordinary spring-tide in the Bay of Dublin; while the lowest point any where on their surface is eighty-four feet lower than

the highest, and therefore 214 feet above the level of the sea.

It requires a mere inspection of the map and sections to be convinced that there is no part of these Bogs from which the water may not be discharged into rivers in their immediate vicinity, and with falls adequate to their drainage; and we observe, that in the instance of the Bog of Timahoe, a part of its water is discharged into the sea at Drogheda, and another part below Waterford.

It is now our duty to report on the probable expense of the proposed operations; and if we are conscious of the general fallacy of estimates, we must be so peculiarly in the case of works such as those which form the subject of our Report.

We have, therefore, required the estimates to be given into us in their most minute details, and we have the satisfaction to observe, that the data on which Mr. Griffith's estimate is formed, are taken from the expense of works executed by the Grand Canal Company in these very Bogs.

This Company has had abundant experience of the extent of the expence of every variety of drains, excavations, and embankments necessary for draining the Bog preparatory to the carrying their canal through it; and we know Mr. Griffith to have had access to their accounts, and that it is with the full knowledge of them, as well as of other sources of information, that he has made his calculations.

It is Mr. Griffith's opinion, that by the main drains laid down in the situations referred to in the map, and

with

with a system of minor drains discharging their waters into the main drains, and at a general distance of a quarter of an Irish mile from each other; and further, with a system of cross drains discharging themselves into the minor drains, and at a distance of 280 yards apart, the entire Bog may be rendered sufficiently compact for the commencement of agricultural operations. The cost of the different improvements proposed in the rivers, and of the main and minor drains, he estimates at £49,268

And of the cross drains, at . . 20,746

Altogether . . . £70,014 as being the expences of discharging the waters from these 22,490 Irish acres, equivalent to 36,480 English acres of Bog, sufficiently to enable the farmer to commence his operations on them. In this view of expence it is, however, particularly worthy of consideration, that there is a further extent of no less than 4,000 Irish acres, not of Bog, but of good land, lying along the banks of the river, whose course it is proposed to improve, and the expence of improving which is included in the £70,014. These 4,000 Irish acres appear to be at present covered with water for not less than half the year, and to set an average rent of less than thirty shillings per acre, while the uplands in the immediate vicinity set for not less than three guineas.

In the opinion of Mr. Griffith, these low lands, if preserved from these inundations, would become more valuable than the uplands; supposing them, however, to receive an increase of only twenty shillings per acre

in their annual value, and estimating this increase at twenty years purchase, an improvement would be effected to the value of £80,000, which is more than sufficient to cover the entire expence of the proposed drainage, not merely of these inundated lands, but of the Bogs also; so that if the operation were to be carried into effect, and considered in a general view, it would appear that the profit of recovering these 4,000 acres of inundated lands would be more than equivalent to defray the entire cost, both of their own reclamation and of the drainage of all the Bog in this district; whatever, therefore, might be the increase of improvement which the entire extent of Bog might receive from the drainage, would be every part of it so much clear gain resulting from the adoption of the operations suggested by Mr. Griffith. The dimensions recommended by Mr. Griffith for the main drains are a breadth of fourteen feet at top, of two feet at bottom, and a depth of twelve feet; for the minor drains, a breadth of nine feet at top, one foot at bottom, and a depth of eight feet; and for the cross drains, a breadth of six feet at top, one foot at bottom, and a depth of five feet.

Adverting to an opinion which some may entertain, that the breadth recommended for the bottom of these drains is not sufficient, Mr. Griffith observes, that it has been found by experience in the Bogs passed through by the Grand Canal, where there was any fall, deep drains with narrow bottoms were kept clear at bottom by the running water, but that the contrary was the case where their bottoms were made broad, as the same

quantity

quantity of water being thinly spread on the bottom in the latter instance, was not sufficient to carry off the particles of peat which it contained, but deposited them on the bottom of the drain, which on this account required frequent scouring.

The mode in which Mr. Griffith proposes to construct these drains, so as to obviate as much as possible the tendency of the sides to collapse, deserves particular attention, not merely on account of the simplicity and ingenuity of the principle, but as possessing the recommendation of having answered on the trial which it has received in the different works undertaken in these Bogs by the Grand Canal Company.

We beg to be understood as by no means pledging ourselves to an opinion, that in all cases such drains, and in the same proportion, would be sufficient to discharge the waters of a great Bog; it is a point on which we wish to reserve the expression of our own opinion until we shall have had an opportunity of comparing the opinions of our other engineers. We consider the enquiry referred to us as divisable into two general heads, namely, the practicability of draining the Bogs of Ireland; and, secondly, of cultivating them when once drained. In a subsequent Report we shall feel it our duty to enter fully into the latter consideration, hitherto our views have been more directed to the former; since, if the drainage should appear to be either impracticable, or attainable only at an expence disproportionate to the object, the latter inquiry would become of little moment; at present we shall merely observe, that we believe there is hardly a

part

part of Ireland in which the evidence of facts does not furnish the most complete refutation of the opinion, "that a drained Bog is not susceptible of the excitement of manure."

On this Mr. Griffith observes to us:—"In answer to an assertion made by some persons, that a Bog deprived of water is a caput mortuum, on which no plant will vegetate, either spontaneously or by any alteration in the composition of the surface that can be effected; it may be observed, that although Bog, when first drained, appears to have lost the power of supporting aquatic plants, without a capability of supplying food for the vegetation of plants of a different or more useful nature, still if we have patience till the Bog-moss,* &c. which composes the upper surface of the Bog, shall have subsided, and by the near approach of their mossy fibres (which when alive are kept asunder by water) and exposure to the atmosphere, shall become (to a certain degree) putrid, it will be found that various grasses of good quality, and even white clover, will vegetate spontaneously on its surface.

"But it is not to be supposed that an active people will thus suffer Nature, unassisted, slowly to attain a desirable alteration in the upper surface of draining Bogs;

* "Sphagnum Palustre.—The pulp of the Bog, as has been already observed, is composed of varieties of this moss.—To exemplify as far as possible the various stages of decomposition which the moss has undergone between the top and bottom of a deep Bog, I have added at the end of this Report a section, with a description and analysis of every variation in the colour and composition of the moss, from the top to the bottom of a Bog of 38½ feet in depth."

Bogs; they will naturally join hand in hand with her; and by the simple process of digging or ploughing up the surface of the drained Bog, and by gathering it into heaps and (in dry weather) setting fire to them (having previously mixed a portion of clay amongst the heaps, which is always to be found in inexhaustible quantities beneath the Bog) accomplish in two years what Nature, unassisted, might have attained (less perfectly) in ten."

A prejudice much more extensive than that of the irreclaimability of a drained Bog, is an apprehension which we have found very generally entertained, that in the event of the success of these operations, the country would be left without a sufficient supply of fuel. It seems not to be generally understood, that if the Bogs of Ireland could be reclaimed, we should derive not merely the advantage of cultivating their surface, but at the same time, that the power of applying them wherever necessary for fuel, would be increased some hundred or rather some thousand fold. Fuel can at present be obtained only from the edges of these Bogs; the excessive wetness of their interior rendering it in its present state wholly unavailable for fuel, but if once drained, fuel might be procured from every part of them; and it is a great mistake to suppose that the drainage of a Bog would impair its qualities as turf, on the contrary, it would operate as the greatest possible improvement to it, and that not merely at the time when it was effected, but at all future periods, and in a degree progressively increasing.

And we are further convinced, that those who apprehend a scarcity of turf-fuel, have formed a most erroneous comparison between any possible demand and the certain power of supplying it. It appears, by Mr. Griffith's Report, that the entire proportion of Bog in this district, already exhausted by the supply of fuel, amounts to no more than 2,117 English acres, that is, less than one thirty-second part of its whole extent.

And further, if these bogs ever should be reclaimed, if it should, indeed, become more desirable to use them for fuel than for cultivation, we may be certain that the profit inseparable from that circumstance, would insure that such would be the application; it may reasonably be supposed that the effect would be, that so small a proportion as might be necessary for fuel would continue to be applied to that end, and that the remainder would be no less profitably employed for the purpose of agriculture.

It was our wish to have stated the rate of expence per acre at which the survey is conducted under our direction, a point, however, which we find it impossible to ascertain, until we shall have received Reports from our different engineers. Most of the surveys of the districts between Dublin and the Shannon are already far advanced towards completion; and we expect, at the commencement of the next Session, to be enabled to report to your Honourable House, upon the whole of the eastern portion of the great division of Ireland included between the lines mentioned in the first part of our Report, accompanied with a skeleton map,

map, showing the connexion of these districts. In proportion as they shall be completed we shall send forward the engineers who have been employed in them to districts more remote, and proceed, as fast as the means which may be entrusted to us will permit, in completing the survey of the remaining Bogs of Ireland.

CH. VALLANCEY, (L.S.)
RICHARD GRIFFITH, (L.S.)
HENRY HAMILTON, (L.S.)
J. LESLIE FOSTER, (L.S.)
WILLIAM GORE, (L.S.)

Dated this 10th day of June, 1810.

FINIS.

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